PANJAB UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL PUBLICATIONS, No. 14

THE SAUNDARANANDA

OR

NANDA THE FAIR

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL SANSKRIT
OF AŚVAGHOSA

BY

E. H. JOHNSTON

PUBLISHED FOR
THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PANJAB, LAHORE

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PREFACE

IN the preface to my edition of the *Saundarananda* of Aśvaghoṣa which was published in the Panjab University Oriental Publications I pointed out that no complete translation of the poem into any European language had ever been made; the present work, which appears as a companion volume in the same series, is designed, as far as my abilities reach, to make good the omission. It is intended to be read with the text, and I have aimed at making the meaning of the thought clear rather than at reproducing, to such limited extent as the circumstances of the case alone would have allowed, the literary form and spirit of the original. While in general keeping close to the Sanskrit, I have not hesitated at times to translate with some freedom when such a course seemed better adapted to the end I had in view, but I am only too painfully aware, both of the number of passages where the text or translation is tentative, and of the inadequacy of my renderings of Buddhist terms. It is perhaps, nevertheless, permissible to hope that this work, despite its shortcomings, may attract readers to a very fine poem, and that it may help them to the understanding and enjoyment of it.

The notes to a large extent are supplementary to those in the text and correct them where necessary. In addition to such references as are required to justify the constitution of the text and the meaning here attributed to it, I have added a few more to help in explaining Aśvaghoṣa's thought and in putting him in his proper place in the history of Sanskrit literature, as well as in the development of Buddhist doctrine. They have for the latter purpose been restricted in the main to passages showing marked verbal resemblance, but free use has also been made of Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin's translation of the *Abhidharmakośa*. For, though that encyclopaedic work is informed with a scholasticism far in advance of that known to Aśvaghoṣa, it contains much old material, and the wonderful completeness of

the translator's annotations has often enabled me by merely referring to it to avoid lengthy discussions and lists of references. Owing, however, to the continued non-appearance of the index volume, I have probably failed to notice much that would have been to the point. It should be added that, to keep the notes within reasonable compass, I have made no attempt to supply the explanations which would be required to make the poem entirely intelligible to readers who have no Sanskrit or are unacquainted with the first principles of Hīnayāna Buddhism.

Some new material has also been made use of. For one thing, in preparing the previous volume, I overlooked Professor de la Vallée Poussin's long list of conjectures; considerably more than half of these, however, are already to be found in the text as propounded by me, a fact which affords me some consolation for an unpardonable oversight. I have accepted a few more and mentioned the more important of the remainder in the notes. A posthumous paper by the late Professor Gawroński, whose services in the restoration of the text of Aśvaghoṣa's poems deserve special acknowledgement, appeared after the text was in print, and has been similarly treated. A review of the text by Dr. E. J. Thomas in the *JRAS* dealt in some detail with the list of names in canto xvi; though I would not accept his views entirely, his handling of the passage has helped me to give an explanation which is a substantial advance on that in the text. None of the other reviews has been of material assistance in my present task, but, on the other hand, several scholars kindly sent me suggestions on certain passages, which I have acknowledged individually in their proper places.

It did not seem to me necessary to provide an index, for it would inevitably have been little more than a repetition of the one given in the text. But, as I have had to add an appendix to correct misprints and mistakes in the text and its index and to give such amended readings as I would now definitely adopt, besides a few variants from P which had been omitted, I have taken the opportunity to include in it those words or references

which on further examination I think should have appeared in the original index to make it correspond more closely to my intention; for, if in actual fact there are relatively few terms in the poem which would pass the Buddhist definition of *niṣparyāyeṇa*, it is better to include words which are of interest, though not strictly speaking technical, or which, though not unknown elsewhere, are rare. This arrangement is inconvenient but affords the best way out of the difficulty, short of providing a complete *index verborum.*

Though I prefer not to deal with Aśvaghoṣa's position either in Sanskrit literature or in Buddhist history till I can bring out the edition of the *Buddhacarita* which I have had in mind for a long time past, one or two remarks on the story of the poem will not be out of place. The original text from which the poet drew his plot is still unknown to me, but, if it should ever come to light among the Chinese or Tibetan translations, it might enable us to state definitely to what sect he belonged; for, though it is often regarded as indisputable that he was a Sarvāstivādin, there are indications in the *Saundarananda* that make me hesitate and prefer to leave the question entirely open for the present. Pali literature contains three versions of Nanda's story, all different from this one, but in substantial agreement among themselves, namely at *Udāna*, p. 22, *Jātaka* II, p. 92, and the commentary on *Dhammapada*, 13 and 14. The first named has a hiatus, for it omits the monkey episode, though referring to it.[1] The only other version accessible to me[2]

[1] It might be argued that the sentence in question merely makes a comparison, which was later misunderstood and gave rise to the monkey episode. But in my opinion the sentence is in a distinctly unusual form, and Pali idiom much prefers the manner of expression of the *Jātaka* version, which makes it refer explicitly to the monkey episode. It looks as if the latter had preserved the original form of the sentence. The prose of the *Udāna* is a relatively modern portion of the canon and one would expect to find in it legends ready made, not in the making. As then we may be sure that Aśvaghoṣa found this particular episode in the canon of his school, it would be remarkable if the original text of the Pali *Udāna* had not contained it also.

[2] I do not feel competent to deal with the Tibetan versions mentioned by M. Lalou, *JA*, CCXVII, 174-5, but hope some scholar, more learned in that language, will examine them. At the same time these versions are unlikely to throw any light on the list of names in xvi, 87-91, for which the parallels to *Aṅguttara* I, 23 ff., should be looked up.

is in the work translated from the Chinese by Beal under the name of *The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, p. 369 ff.; despite its differences from this poem, certain passages suggest an acquaintance with it, just as in the earlier part of that work the *Buddhacarita* is frequently laid under contribution. A special motive may have led Aśvaghoṣa to choose this not very well-known story. For Chinese tradition is insistent that he was born a Brahman and only converted to Buddhism in later life; seeing that he shows much deeper knowledge of Brahmanical learning than any other Buddhist writer known to us, the tradition appears worthy of credit. Is it not possible, therefore, that he was especially fond of subjects which dealt with conversion because of their application to himself? It is the sole subject of two out of the three works which we know for certain to be his, this poem and the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*, and it is a leading motif throughout the third, the *Buddhacarita*. The curious verse, xviii, 58, of this poem might then reflect an experience that had happened to him personally.

I have acknowledged above my indebtedness to various scholars, and it only remains to express my gratitude to the Panjab University for accepting this volume and to Professor A. C. Woolner, C.I.E., its Vice-Chancellor, for his good offices in the matter. The translation has also profited by kindly criticism of some of its angularities and obscurities from my wife and Miss G. Harcourt Smith.

October, 1931. E. H. JOHNSTON.

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

I use the same abbreviations as in the text with the additions given below.

AK	*L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, translated by L. de la Vallée Poussin, Paris, 1923–6.
AKV	*Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* of Yaśomitra.
AKV, i	do. , ch. i, Bibl. Buddh. XXI, 1918.
AKV, iii	do. , ch. iii, Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Tome VI, fasc. II, 1919.
Cat.	*Catuḥśatikā by Āryadeva*, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III.
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*
Gawroński	*Notes on the Saundarananda*, third series, by A. Gawroński, Rocznik Orjentalistyczny, Tom IV.
HC	*Harṣacarita*, ed. P. V. Kane, Bombay, 1918.
KS	*Kāmasūtra*, Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 29, Benares, 1929.
Law	*Saundarananda Kāvya*, translated into Bengali by B. C. Law, Calcutta, 1922.
LVP	*Critical Notes to Saundaranandakāvya*, by L. de la Vallée Poussin, Bull. of the London School of Oriental Languages, I, p. 133 ff.
MK	*Mūlamadhyamakakārikās*, Bibl. Buddh. IV.
Śat. P.	*Śatasahasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, ed. Bibl. Ind.
RV	*Rigveda.*
VM	*Visuddhimagga*, P.T.S. edn.

ADDENDA

Canto ii, 18. Following the use of *viguṇa* in the *Kauṭ. A.* (cf. J. J. Meyer's translation, p. 445, n. 2), I think *viguṇeṣv api* should have been translated here, 'even when they were faithless to him'.

Canto v, 51. The translation and the note in the text are not quite accurate. *Pravāsaya* here and in the *Kauṭ. A.* should be taken to the root *vas*, 'cut', which is mainly known in the form *parivāsaya* from the Brāhmaṇas, though possibly the sense of 'banish' is also to be understood secondarily in this passage.

Canto vi, 25. *Ārośita* is an incorrect form for *ārūṣita*. The implication is, 'instead of being blackened by collyrium'.

Canto xiii, 14. 'Hypocrisy', though the nearest word in English, does not exactly give the sense of *kuhanā*. It implies 'showing off' (*vismāpana*) deceitfully for the purpose of gain, ostentatiously pretending to have a good quality (particularly *alpecchatā*, see *Jāt.* i, 10, and *VM* 24) in order to impress laymen and to stimulate their liberality.

Canto xv, 44. The MSS. reading, °*nivartāc*, is supported by the phrase, *ṛtavaś ca māsāś cānyo'nyam abhinivartante*, at *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, xii. 8. 2, 30, and should therefore be retained.

Canto xvi, 20–4. This argument appears in *Tattvasaṁgraha*, 1948 ff., to prove the truth of transmigration against the Lokāyatas; for if there were no transmigration, it would be impossible to account for the fact that *rāga*, *dveṣa*, &c., are perceived in children who have had no opportunity of acquiring such feelings in their present birth. My rendering of the passage would thus seem to be in general correct.

Canto xvi, 38. These ten good qualities are perhaps forerunners, or a variant version, of the ten *kuśalamahābhūmikas* of the *Prakaraṇapāda* (*AK I*, p. 150, n. 2 B).

NANDA THE FAIR

CANTO I

KAPILAVĀSTU

OM! Hail to the Buddha!

Kapila, the seer.

1. There was a seer, supreme among the upholders of the religious Law, Kapila Gautama by name, strenuous in asceticism like Kākṣīvat Gautama,

2. Who continuously practised glorious austerities just as the sun continually gives forth blazing heat, and attained in their progress the highest perfection like Kāśyapa,

3. Who milked libations from his cow for his own sake, just as a king milks the earth for his own purposes, and milked speech in the midst of his disciples trained in asceticism, just as Vasiṣṭha milked his cow,

4. Who was the peer of Dīrghatapas in magnanimity, the equal of Kāvya and the son of Aṅgiras in sagacity.

His hermitage.

5. For the practice of his long-enduring austerities he had on an auspicious slope of the Himalayas his hermitage, the domain and temple of asceticism.

6. It had groves of lovely shrubs and trees and smooth soft lawns, and with its canopy of smoke from the oblations it ever looked like a cloud.

7. With its ground which was soft, sandy, smooth, yellowish with a carpet of *kesara* flowers and unpolluted, it appeared as if covered with body-paint, consisting of unadulterated earthy particles in soft greasy grains and yellowish with a sprinkling of saffron.

8. It was, as it were, surrounded by friends who were pure, recognised as objects of veneration, holy and promoters of others' welfare, in the

2. There may also be a reference in the first line to the fiery heat of Kapila's gaze which reduced the sons of Sagara to ashes. The use of *śri* in the sense of 'giving forth' light, &c., of the sun is Vedic and does not seem to occur elsewhere in classical Sanskrit.

3. Read *havīṃṣi* in *a*, as nearer P and as giving the double accusative which *duh* often takes. *Go* has nine meanings (*AK*, I, 240) but the difficulty in applying them lies in *vasiṣṭha* having no recorded meanings except as a proper name and as an adjective meaning 'pre-eminent'. For instance, the second line might refer to the sun drawing up moisture from the earth, if *vasiṣṭha* could mean the 'sun'.

4. Cf. *CII*, III, p. 82, l. 13, *samānadhīḥ Śukrabṛhaspatibhyām*.

5. Or reading *āśrayo* in *d*, it means that he had lands and a dwelling as the support of his austerities.

shape of lotusponds, clear, purifying, salubrious and famed as places of pilgrimage.

9. With forest aisles abounding in fruit and flowers on all sides it was splendid and flourished like a man who has all things needful at his command.

10. It seemed as if quite empty, though thronged with ascetics; for they lived self-controlled and peaceful, free from yearnings and contented with a diet of wild rice and fruit.

11. The only sounds to be heard there were of oblations burning in the sacred fires, of muttering hermits with matted hair and of ablutions at the bathing-places.

12. There the spotted deer, asleep in the enclosures sacred to worship, seemed as if made into offerings accompanied by *mādhavī* flowers and puffed rice.

13. Even the beasts of prey roamed quietly there with the deer, as if they had studied the rules of the holy life under the ascetics with whom they had taken refuge.

14. Though their release from rebirth was open to doubt and their scriptures were contradictory, yet the ascetics there practised asceticism as if possessed of supernatural perception (of its result).

15. There some contemplated the Absolute; no one at all did hurt; *soma* was measured out at the proper time; and no one died untimely.

16. There the ascetics, following their own opinions in the matter of

9. The first line should have a second meaning to apply to *sādhanavān*, but I can find nothing sufficiently plausible. The later rhetoricians disapprove of the use of this word because of its indecorous suggestiveness (cf. *Kāvyaprakāśa* vii), and the explanation is possibly to be sought in that direction.

10. There is a play of words here on the religious sense of *śūnya*, as explained in the note to xvii, 16; this sense accounts for the choice of epithets in the first line.

11. Cf. *MBh*. iii, 966.

12. I think *upahārīkṛtā*, palaeographically quite probable, would be better in *d*.

13. *Kṣudramṛgāḥ* may also mean the smaller animals such as hares, but the Pali version (E. J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, 1927, p. 8) also supports the above rendering. *Vinaya* as applied to animals means properly 'taming', but like *śānta* and *śaraṇya* it is meant to be taken here in the specifically Buddhist sense.

14. It is possible to understand the verse on lines somewhat different from those proposed in my note on the text. A Yogin knows by direct supernatural perception what others know only by inference, and *virodha* and *saṁdeha* are two of the three causes that vitiate inference according to the earlier treatises on logic (cf. G. Tucci, *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic*, G.O.S. XLIX, p. xx) and may therefore equally be held to vitiate supernatural perception. The difficulty is that we do not know how far logical studies had advanced by Aśvaghoṣa's time, though he appears to know the first *adhyāya* of the Nyāyasūtras (see xvi, 18 below) which is much older than the rest of that work.

15. 'Reap' in the note to the text is a *lapsus calami*, the reference in *c* being to the operation known as *unmāna* or *vimāna* in the ritual texts.

16. Pada *b* also means, 'deeming *dharma* to be their private property' ('their sole wealth', Law).

religion and regardless of their bodies, practised austerities as if overjoyed with their toil.

17. There the sages, with minds aspiring to Paradise, strove so hard that they seemed by their very passion for austerities to destroy religion (which consists in passionlessness).

18. One day there came to that hermitage, the seat of the brilliant one, the domain of austerities, certain princes, sons of Ikṣvāku, desirous of dwelling there.

Ikṣvāku's sons come to the hermitage.

19. Tall they were like golden columns, lionchested, strong in the arm, distinguished for their great fame, majesty and good conduct.

20. For, being worthy where their younger half-brother was unworthy, high-souled where he was pusillanimous, and wise where he was foolish,

21. They did not lay violent hands on the sovereignty which came to him as his mother's bride-price, but kept inviolate their father's promise, wherefore they had come to the forest.

22. The seer, Kapila Gautama, became their preceptor; hence, following their guru's *gotra*, they were turned from Kautsas into Gautamas;

23. Just as, though brothers and sons of the same father, Rāma became a Gārgya and Vāsubhadra a Gautama through being pupils of different gurus.

24. And as they made a dwelling shaded by *śāka* trees, these scions of Ikṣvāku's race came to be known on earth as Śākyas.

25. Gautama celebrated their rites with the same use as for his own clan, as the Bhārgava seer did for the youthful Sagara in later times,

26. And as Kaṇva did for the son of Śakuntalā, the impetuous Bharata, and as the inspired Vālmīki for the inspired sons of the princess of Mithila.

27. The forest assumed simultaneously the glory of Brahmans and Kṣatriyas, the glory of sacred peace through the sage, of protection through the Kṣatriya heroes.

18. For *tejasvin* cf. note on verse 2 above. For the plural *ikṣvākavaḥ* cf. *Pāṇ*. 2. 4, 64 (singular *aikṣvāka*, ib. 4. 1, 68). For the story cf. *Mhv*. I, 348 ff., which makes Ikṣvāku king of Aśvaghoṣa's own town, Sāketa, the Pali version as given in E. J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, p. 7 ff., and the Tibetan version in Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 11 ff.

20. *Bhrātṛvya*, properly 'father's brother's son', but, unless the version of the story known to Aśvaghoṣa differed from the known ones, it must mean 'half-brother' here.

23. *Bhrātṛ* means an agnate of the same generation, so that *ekapitṛ* is not tautologous.

24. Cf. *Dīgha* I, 92.

26. *Dhīmat* refers to Vālmīki's poetic inspiration in composing the *Rāmāyaṇa* and to Kuśa and Lava's artistic skill in repeating it.

27. Cf. *MBh*. iii, 967.

Kapila lays out a site for the princes.

28. One day, in order to establish their prosperity, the sage flew up into the air with a jar of water and addressed the princes:—

29. 'Follow me step by step without passing beyond the line of the drops which fall to the earth from this jar whose water is inexhaustible'.

30. They all bowed their heads to him and, assenting, mounted their ornate chariots to which swift horses were harnessed.

31. So travelling in the air and followed by them in their chariots, he sprinkled water along the boundary of the land of that hermitage.

32. After laying out a space like a chessboard which was beautified by boundary marks, the seer stood still and said to the princes:—

33. 'When I depart to Heaven, do ye build a town on this land, round which I have sprinkled water and which is defined by the track of your wheels'.

34. Then in course of time the seer passed away and those heroes roamed about in their unbridled youth, as unrestrained as elephants untamed by goads.

The princes grow up,

35. With leather guards protecting their fingers, with bows in their hands, with mighty quivers bursting with missiles and with arrows adjusted,

36. They tested their skill on elephants and other wild beasts in rivalry of the godlike deeds of the son of Duṣyanta, when he lived in the forest.

37. The hermits, seeing their natural character emerge as they grew up, as in tiger cubs, left that forest and retired to the Himalayas.

38. Then the princes, seeing that hermitage empty of ascetics and with their own minds empty (with grief), were overwhelmed with sorrow and sighed like serpents hissing with rage.

39. In time, through their store of merit, prosperity came to them and they obtained great treasures there, which were pointed out to them by the learned in such matters.

40. These treasures were of many kinds and abundant, ample for the complete attainment of the objects of religion, wealth and pleasure, and not subject to loss at the hands of foes.

32. *Nimitta* in Pali means a 'landmark' and especially one used as a 'boundary mark', *Vinaya* I, 106, *Jātaka* III, 504, *Dīpavaṁsa* xiv, 23, and *VM*, 152. The next verse suggests that the poet wishes to derive it from *nemi*, and there is also a secondary sense of 'good omen' implied, but I can find no authority for Law's rendering *māṅgalika upakaraṇa*.

35. On further reflection I think the compound in *d* must refer to weapons to preserve the unity of the verse and I accordingly take *ābaddhavāsas*, 'that which has feathers bound to it', to mean 'arrow'.

38. In associating *vyāla* and *manyu*, did Aśvaghoṣa have in mind the Rigvedic epithet, *ahimanyu*, of the Maruts? The brothers are compared to the Maruts verse 62 below.

41. Then with the acquisition of that wealth and the ripening of their merit, they founded on that site a city which was majestic through their knowledge of townplanning,

and build the city of Kapilavāstu.

42. With a moat as broad as a river, with a straight and magnificent main street and with ramparts almost as big as mountains like another Girivraja,

43. Having a fair front of white upper storeys and well laid out bazaars, and encompassed by a row of palaces, like a valley of the Himalayas having fine peaks like white watchtowers and manifold interior wealth and encompassed by uplands like palaces.

44. There they caused the Brahmans, learned in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas and engaged in the six occupations (alone permissible to Brahmans), to repeat the formulas for tranquillity and prosperity.

Its description.

45. There by their regal might they led to victory their military forces which were employed only in repelling assailants of that land (and not in aggression).

46. There they settled on honourable terms their fellow-clansmen, who were endowed with good conduct and wealth and were self-respecting, circumspect, courageous and active.

47. They appointed ministers according to their possession of the various qualities, such as wisdom of counsel, eloquence and courage, to corresponding offices.

48. The city, in being thronged with men who were wealthy, well-ordered, learned and without arrogance, resembled Mandara which is thronged with Kinnaras who are possessed of jewels, wander on the mountain, are skilled in the arts (of song &c.) and have charming smiles.

49. There with joyful hearts, anxious to gratify the citizens, they made magnificent abodes of fame known as gardens.

42. Girivraja (Rājagṛha) had natural ramparts of hills all round it.

43. *Aṭṭāla* means the upper storeys with open verandahs such as are seen appearing over the walls of towns in the Sanchi sculptures. In the simile *mālā* stands for *māla*; cf. *Meghadūta* 16 and Mallinātha thereon.

45. *Prabhāva* is one of the *śaktis* of a king according to Indian political science, defined as the strength derived from his treasury and army at *Kauṭ. A.* vi. 2, 44.

46. I take *arhataḥ* as an adverb as in *B.* ix, 10, not as acc. pl. *Kuṭumbinaḥ* may merely mean 'heads of families'.

48. The application of the first line to Kinnaras is something of a puzzle. Their jewels are mentioned from time to time (e.g. in the *Kādambarī* and *Kathāsaritsāgara*), but Vasu is a name for Kubera, who is Kinnareśa, and *vasumadbhiḥ* may mean 'accompanied by Kubera (as king)'. *Avi* in the sense of 'mountain' is well known to Indian lexx. and probably occurs again in *B*, x, 15*a*, hidden under a corruption (i.e. read *tasminn avau*), but I am not at all sure of having found the right meaning for *avismitaiḥ*.

Description of Kapilavāstu (*contd.*).

50. Without order from anyone but only because of their exceeding wisdom, they dug in all directions pleasant lotusponds filled with water of pre-eminent virtue.

51. And all round on the roads and in the groves they set up rest-houses, charming, fine, splendid and provided with wells.

52. The city was crowded with elephants, horses and chariots, yet it was not polluted or disorderly. Wealth was not kept back from those in need there and it harboured learning and manly vigour.

53. It was, so to speak, a 'thesaurus' of wealth, an abode of the sciences, a rendezvous of the perfections; and the sacred fires of courage were tended there.

54. It was the roosting-tree of the virtuous, the resort of the distressed, the stage for learned disputants and the picketing ground for men of might.

55. Those heroes adorned that city, the wonder of the world, with assemblies, feasts, gifts and religious ceremonies.

56. And as they levied no unjust tax, in a short time they filled the city with people then.

57. The city was called Kapilavāstu, because they built it on the site of the hermitage of the seer, Kapila.

58. As the cities situate on the hermitages of Kakanda, Makanda and Kuśāmba are called after them, so it was called after Kapila.

59. These Indra-like heroes protected this city with noble courage,

50. The reading in *c* is surely wrong, but emendation with any degree of certainty is impracticable.

51. *Kūpavat* does not occur elsewhere and the construction suggests that *kūpavatī* is a substantive, not an adjective; if so, is it the same as *kūpikā*, 'a tank', which Schmidt in his *Nachträge* to the *PWK* quotes in this sense from the *HC*, or is it equivalent to *prapā*, a building in which water was provided for travellers?

52. For *c* cf. *Cariyāpiṭaka* 1. 9, 18 (= *Jātaka* VI, 570) and *VM*, p. 470 (the definition of *macchariya*). For *d* I justify *nigūḍha* in the sense of 'containing' from *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra*, xix, 66, *anigūḍhavairaḥ* and *Praśastapādabhāṣya* (Kāśī S.S.) p. 132, *antarnigūḍhecchā bhāvaḥ*.

53. Cf. *CII*, III, p. 147, l. 8, *dharmasyāyaṁ niketaḥ*. *Niketa* might also mean 'temple' (cf. ib., p. 49, l. 5) or 'sign', 'symbol'.

54. *Vāsavṛkṣa* goes back to *Praśna Up.* iv, 7, where I would read *vāsavṛksaṁ* for the traditional *vāso vṛkṣaṁ*; cf. also *Rām.* iv. 14, 17. The dictionary word, *guṇavṛkṣa*, suggests for *a* the secondary meaning, 'a mooring post for ships'; and, following Apte (s. *āśraya*), *b* may mean also, 'a quiver for those in need of arrows'. *Kṛtaśāstra* refers also to those learned in the *nāṭyaśāstra*.

55. *Samāja* would include, according to *KS*, i. 4, 27, fortnightly or monthly gatherings for worship, accompanied by dancing, &c., in the temple of some god such as Sarasvatī, and also, ib., vi. 1, 12, commentary, it could mean drinking parties. For the literature on the meaning of the word in the Aśoka edicts, which perhaps hardly applies here, see L. de la Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas* (Paris 1930), pp. 156–7.

59. *Āpuḥ* in *a* root aorist of *pā*, *ā* +.

not with arrogance, and thus they acquired glory of everlasting fragrance like the famed sons of Yayāti.

60. That country, being without a king, was devoid of lustre under those king's sons, though they behaved as lords, just as the sky, when the moon has not risen, is not made bright by the stars, though they be shining by the thousand.

The eldest prince becomes king.

61. So in their devotion to their elders the brothers consecrated there, like the Ādityas the Thousand-eyed One in Heaven, that one of them who was their chief in age and virtues, just as the herd-bull is chief among the bulls by right of his might.

62. As Indra governs Heaven with the Maruts in attendance, so he governed that realm with his retinue of brothers, being possessed of good conduct, discipline, wise policy and piety; and he held sway there not for the indulgence of the senses but for righteousness' sake.

CANTO II

THE KING

Accession of Śuddhodana. His character.

1. In time thereafter in the course of succession the realm passed to King Śuddhodana, whose deeds were pure, whose senses were subdued,

2. Who was not attached to worldly passions, who was not made insolent by accession to sovereignty, who did not despise others because of his prosperity, who did not tremble before his foes.

3. Strong, resolute, learned in the sacred lore, wise, brave, skilled in counsel, steadfast and gracious,

4. Handsome yet not presumptuous, courteous yet straightforward, courageous yet forbearing, masterly yet without arrogance,

5. Whether challenged by his enemies in battle or solicited by his friends, he was not backward in courage in the one case or in liberality in the other.

6. Anxious to tread the path of righteousness taken by the kings of old, he imitated his ancestors in conduct, dedicating himself, as it were, to his kingdom.

7. Owing to his excellent administration and efficient protection his subjects reposed peacefully, free from alarms, like children in their father's lap.

8. Whoever came into his sight, whether scholar, warrior or man of high degree, was fortunate in his business.

9. When given advice that was useful though unpalatable, he listened and was not disturbed; he remembered the slightest action done for his benefit, passing over injuries to himself however so many they were.

10. He favoured those who submitted to him, he waged war on the enemies of his race, he received the unfortunate kindly, he checked those who strayed from the path (of right).

11. In general in his dominions men, by imitating his conduct, were seen to accumulate virtue, as if it were wealth.

12. He studied the supreme religious lore, he never failed in fortitude, he gave gifts to the deserving, he committed no sin.

13. He adhered with constancy to his promises, just as a good horse suffers cheerfully the upraised yoke; for he did not desire life for even a moment at the price of falling away from the truth.

8. This probably means not only that the king granted all requests made to him in audience, but that the mere sight of him brought good luck.

11. Gawroński proposes reading *yasya yacchīlam*.

14. He honoured the wise and was resplendent with self-control; like the moon in the month of Āśvina he was pleasing to the cultivated.

15. By his wisdom he obtained what was useful in this world and by his learning he knew what was fitting for the hereafter; he guarded his senses with steadfastness and his subjects with courage.

16. He took away from the afflicted the causes of their grief and from his foes their mighty fame; he gained possession of the earth by his policy and covered it with his exceeding fame.

17. The compassion, innate in his nature, overflowed at the sight of distress, and he did not imperil his fame through covetousness in the unjust acquisition of riches.

18. Out of firm devotion to amity with those who were his allies by traditional friendship he would not be dejected, even when they were worthless, but out of graciousness would give them his wealth according to their needs.

19. He did not touch anything to eat till he had performed his ablutions and assigned the first portion to holy persons: he did not milk the earth unrighteously, as one might a cow in thirst for milk.

20. He scattered the *bali* oblation according to rule and did not let himself be overtaken by the pride of dominion; it was for the sake of religion and not to gain repute that he impregnated his mind with the scriptures.

21. He did not maltreat the few evildoers, even when they deserved

14. Or perhaps, 'he was pleasing to those he governed, like the moon in the month of Āśvina to the cultivated'. The moon is peculiarly brilliant in an Indian October, because the atmosphere is then free from the dust which partially obscures its light in the following seven months.

17. I take *apyāsīt* in its normal sense, but countless passages in Buddhist literature recounting the pleasure caused by the sight of possible objects of charity suggest that it means 'grew exuberant', 'rejoiced'. This could possibly be justified as a Prakritism by comparison with the Pali verb *piyāyati*, whose meaning has probably been affected by a feeling that it was connected with *piya* (but cf. *PWK* for the dubious verb, *priyāy*).

18. The translation suggested in the note to the text will not hold water, as *adidāsīt*, if from *dī*, must be intransitive. Incidentally I find *didāsate* from *dī* given in Kṣīrasvāmin's *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī* (ed. B. Liebich, 1930). Law translates *nādidāsīt* by 'did not abandon', the basis for which I cannot discover, though he may possibly be right in taking *sauhārdadṛḍhabhaktitvāt* as a *dvandva* compound. Could it be *ādidāsīt* from *dā* with *ā*? It is dubious style with the *ā* so lost to view between the negative and the augment, but the sense is suitable, i.e. that he would not take away his allies' property but preferred to give them his instead. The verse remains a puzzle.

20. The MSS.' *kalim* involves the translation, 'He did not bring about (lit. create) unfitting dissension', the verb *sṛj* suggesting the personification of *kali*; to take the pāda as a reference to dicing does not seem possible. In *b* apparently *ārukṣat*; cf. ix, 34 and *mānārūḍha*, *Bhāg. Pur.*, iv. 26, 8.

21. *Kāṁścit*, to show that evildoers were exceptional under his rule. For the second line cf. *Kām. Nītisāra*, viii, 85, *sato 'pi doṣān pracchādya guṇān apy asato vadet*.

Character of Suddhodana (*contd.*).

cruel punishment, and the nobility of his nature was such that he did not disparage the virtues of a good man, even though he was his enemy.

22. By his beauty he attracted, like the moon, the gaze of his subjects; he avoided touching the property of others on earth, as one avoids touching a venomous snake on the ground.

23. Nowhere in his realm had anyone occasion to lament injury at the hands of others; for the bow in his hand promised security to the oppressed.

24. Not to speak of those who did his pleasure, even the guilty when they humbled themselves before him he regarded with a benign eye and bedewed with soft words.

25. Indifferent to sensual pleasures, he studied many sciences and, abiding by the law of righteousness of the golden age, he did not swerve from it even in extremities.

26. He ever grew in virtue and rejoiced over the good fortune of his friends; he placed his reliance on the aged and did not enter on low paths of conduct.

27. With his arrows he kept his enemies quiet, with his virtues he rejoiced his kinsfolk: he did not spur his servants on by their weak points or distress his subjects with taxes.

28. The entire earth was cultivated through his maintenance of order and was conquered through his heroism; and he put down nocturnal malefactors by his enlightened administration of justice.

29. By his conduct as a royal seer he made his family fragrant with the odour of fame and dispersed his foes with his courage, as the sun disperses the darkness with its brilliance.

30. He spread abroad his ancestors' renown by the virtues suitable to a good son and he gladdened his subjects by his conduct, like a cloud gladdening them with rain.

31. With gifts continuous and great he caused the Brahmans to press

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22. *Bhuvi* looks a somewhat doubtful reading.

26. We could also translate *c*, 'He consorted with the aged'. The verse illustrates the difference of meaning between the active and middle voices of the two verbs.

27. Law translates *c*, 'He did not chastise his servants when in fault', for which I find no authority, but I am not sure that my translation is correct. Comparing verse xii, 1 below, the sense might be, 'He did not reprove his servants for their weaknesses'. The pāda recalls curiously the Vedic epithet, *radhracodana*, of Indra. *Kara* seems to mean here, 'taxes in money' as opposed to *bali* of verse 33 below, 'land revenue'.

28. In the second line a contrast is intended between *spaṣṭa* and *rātri*.

30. Bhāmaha may have had this verse in mind in giving *ajihladat* as an instance of cacophony to be avoided, *Kāvyālamkāra*, i, 53.

soma and by holding fast to the golden rule of kingship he caused the crops to grow in due season.

32. He was not full of questionings and he did not hold discourses against the Law of Righteousness, and (justifying the title of Cakravartin) he caused others to be drawn to the Law, as though he were turning the Wheel (of the Law).

33. He did not make the land pay anything beyond the legal revenue, and it was only his soldiers whose efforts he needed to cut down the insolence of his enemies.

34. He caused his virtues ever more and more to purify his race and by his delimitation of the duties of all classes he did not let his subjects come to harm.

35. An unwearied worshipper in due season, he caused the sacrificial ground to be laid out and by his protection he enabled the Brahmans to meditate without impediment on the Absolute.

36. Benignly at the due time with the due ceremony he caused his priests to measure out the *soma*; by his holiness he put down the army of internal foes, and by his courage his external foes.

37. He who knew the supreme Law impregnated his subjects with the subtle Law and caused them by perception of the Law to dwell in Paradise in due course.

38. He did not give appointments to any unrighteous man, however skilful he might be in emergencies, nor did partiality cause him to advance an incapable man just because he was a friend.

32. *Sah* with *abhyud*, causative, is not recorded elsewhere, but the *PWK* quotes *Bālarāmāyaṇa* for the simple verb in this sense.

33. The first line presumably means that he took only his one-sixth share of the crops without the additional cesses which are shown by the inscriptions to have been prevalent from an early date (see U. N. Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, Calcutta 1929, index under 'cess'). The second line is expressed enigmatically, but the meaning is made clear by the emphasis put on *bhṛtyaiḥ* by its position and the addition of *eva*. The poet considers *dviṣaddarpam adīdapat* would be ambiguous as indicating either the internal foes, the wellknown vices, which peculiarly beset kings and are referred to in verse 36, or external enemies. So he adds *bhṛtyaiḥ* to make it clear that he only refers to the latter and that the king did not suffer from the insolence of the former. The use of *bhṛtya* in the sense of 'soldier' here and at i, 45, is worth noticing. *Sodyogam* may also mean 'in battle array'; cf. the name of the fifth book of the *MBh.* and the use of *udyojaya* at *Kauṭ. A.*, v. 3, 45, of *uyyojeti* at *Aṅguttara* V, 82, and of *uyyutta* at *Vinaya* IV, 104.

35. *Amīmapat* in *b* is from the same verb as in 36 *b*; possibly *yajñabhūmim* is a corruption, therefore, for something like *yajnayūpam*, 'he caused the sacrificial posts to be erected'.

37. Gawroński suggests *avāpipat* for the verb, presumably from *i* with *ava*, 'understand', in *b* and from *āp* with *ava* in *d*. This is perhaps superior to my *avīvasat*. For *sūkṣma* cf. xii, 30, below and *Milindapañha* 86, where the Dhamma is described as *sabbasukhuma*; Bhīṣma is called *sūkṣmadharmārthatattvavit* at *MBh.* xii, 1359, and cf. ib., 4507, *sūkṣmadharmārthakāraṇāt*.

38. *Vyaktam arthakṛcchreṣu*, 'a daring pilot in extremity' (*Absalom and Achitophel*).

Character of Śuddhodana (*contd.*).

39. With the heat of his courage he reduced proud foes to ashes and with his personal splendour he abashed them; and he illumined the earth with the blazing light of his fame.

40. That he was ever charitable to the needy was due to generosity, not to a desire for renown, and, however great the substance of his gifts, he did not blazon them abroad.

41. He did not refuse help to anyone who was in trouble and came to him for refuge, not even if he was his enemy, nor did he become arrogant on conquering his foes, however insolent they might be.

42. He never offended against the rules of propriety from passion, hatred or fear, and did not indulge his senses, though possessed of the objects of enjoyment.

43. No unfitting action was observed in him on any occasion, nor did he stoop to any baseness in the affairs of either adversary or friend.

44. He drank *soma* according to the ritual and guarded his fame as was fitting; and he continually repeated the Vedas and observed the law laid down in them.

45. This invincible king of the Śākyas, to whom the vassal princes were submissive, was endowed like Śakra with these and other rare virtues.

Descent of the Bodhisattva.

46. Now at that time the inhabitants of Heaven, being lovers of righteousness and desirous of seeing its practice, passed over the regions of the world.

47. As they whose very natures were informed with righteousness wandered over the world to enquire about its righteousness, they saw that king whose nature was righteous in such a high degree.

48. Then the Bodhisattva, descending to earth from among the Tuṣita gods, decided to become incarnate in the family of that monarch.

49. That godlike king had at that time a queen named Māyā, who

39. Cf. *CII*, III, p. 177, l. 42, *prasarpatpatīyaḥpralāpaploṣitāśeṣaśatruvaṁśaḥ*. Curious Vedic parallels too; *tveṣasaṁdṛś* of kings, *RV*, i. 85, 8 and the use of *bhas* at ib., vi. 59, 4, in much the same sense as here, so that Ludwig wished to amend it to *bharts*.

43. If we read *vikriyāḥ* (or *vikriyām*) in *d*, the meaning is, 'he underwent no change of feeling (i.e. was not affected by his personal feelings) in dealing with people he liked or disliked'.

45. Read *aśakyaḥ śakya°* in *c*, as suggested to me by Prof. Thomas. The play on words, which is untranslateable, depends on the equivalence of *a* and *ā* in these figures of speech. The king is a Śākya but not *śakya*, the vassal princes are *śakya* but not Śākyas.

47. *Dharmātman* as applied to the gods may have some special doctrinal meaning; but if so, I have failed to trace it in the sources.

49. LVP identifies Māyā with Lakṣmī, the authority for which is presumably Hemacandra, as quoted by the *Śabdakalpadruma* s.v.; if this is correct, the comparison helps to explain why figures of Śrī appear so frequently in early Buddhist sculptures. Besides being a name for Durgā, Māyā is

like the goddess Māyā in Heaven was devoid of the vices of anger, ignorance and deceit.

50. Then at the due season she saw in a dream a white six-tusked elephant, mighty as Airāvata, enter her womb.

51. The Brahmans, skilled in the interpretation of dreams, hearing of this dream, explained it as foreshadowing the birth of the prince who would be possessed of the glory of majesty and righteousness.

Birth of the Buddha.

52. At the birth of the Supreme Being, Whose aim it was to put an end to rebirth, the earth with its mountains quivered like a ship struck by the waves.

53. A shower of flowers, which faded not in the sun's rays, fell from the sky, as if the elephants of the Quarters were shaking the trees of the grove of Citraratha with their trunks.

54. Drums thundered in the heavens as if the storm gods were at play, the sun shone with extreme brilliance and an auspicious breeze blew.

55. The Tuṣita and the Śuddhāvāsa deities rejoiced in reverence for the holy Law and in sympathy with creation.

56. The Supreme One, the banner-bearer of the highest good, attained the pinnacle of fame and shone with the majesty of holy calm like the Law of Righteousness in bodily form.

Birth of Nanda.

57. As the fire-sticks give birth to fire, so too the younger queen gave birth to a son, Nanda by name, the cause of everlasting joy to his family.

58. Long in the arm he was, deep-chested, with the shoulders of a lion and the eyes of a bull, and because of his wondrous form he was styled 'the Fair'.

59. He was resplendent with gracious beauty like the month of Madhu at its setting in, like the new moon rising or like the disembodied god reincarnate.

The two princes grow up.

60. The king brought up the twain with the greatest joy, just as

also the name of Śambara's wife, who was an incarnation of Rati and who brought up Pradyumna. This legend seems to be referred to at viii, 45, below. Bhāmaha, *Kavyālaṁkāra* i, 39, objects to the use of Māyā in comparisons.

51. The last pāda by *lakṣmī* and *dharma* seems to refer to the Brahmans' prophecy that the prince would be either a Cakravartin or a Buddha (cf. *Buddhacarita* i. 34 of the Tibetan translation).

52. The mountains peg down the earth, *B.* i, 21(40), and are therefore mentioned as adding to the wonder.

56. I am uncertain about the exact meaning of *śreyaḥketukaraḥ* (or °*dharaḥ*). Can Asvaghoṣa have had in mind *śréyaḥketo* in the hymn to the wardrum at *Atharvaveda* v. 20, 10 where accent and verb in the second person suggest that it may be the vocative of *śreyaḥketu*, not the nominative of *śreyaḥketa*? The sense would be better there, and cf. for *ketu* ib., vi. 126, 3.

great Wealth in the hands of a good man redounds to the increase of Religion and Pleasure.

61. Those two good sons in time grew up for his wellbeing, just as Religion and Wealth increase for the prosperity of a noble man great in his undertakings.

62. The king of the Śākyas shone between those two good sons of his, like the Middle Country displayed between the Himalayas and the Pāriyātra.

63. Then in due course the two princes were initiated and learned all sciences; Nanda indulged himself perpetually in pleasure but Sarvārthasiddha did not give way to passion.

The Buddha leaves His home.

64. For, on seeing an aged man, a sick man and a corpse, He reflected in His distress how ignorant the world is, and with His heart filled with deep distaste He did not find any satisfaction in sensory objects; for He longed to destroy straightway the dangers of birth and death.

65. Fixing His mind in His agitation on escape from rebirth and unmoved by desire for even the best of women as He saw them lying asleep, He determined to go to the forest, and departed at night from the king's palace, like a swan from a lake whose lotuses have been rent in pieces.

62. The form Pāriyātra is preferable to the text's Pāripātra.

63. *Saṁrarañje* in *d* would be better Sanskrit than *saṁrarañja*.

65. I accept LVP's °*varāṅganāsv* in *b*; but possibly it should be a single compound such as *śayitavarāṅganāhatāsthaḥ*.

CANTO III

THE TATHĀGATA

1. Then quitting the majestic and secure city of Kapilavāstu, whose population was devoted to Him and which was thronged with masses of horses, elephants and chariots, He started resolutely for the forest to practise austerities.

The Buddha's austerities.

2. But finding that the sages were practising austerities according to varying scriptures and under varying rules and were still made wretched by desire for sensory objects, He concluded that there was no certainty in asceticism and turned away.

3. Then, with His mind fixed on the ultimate truth, He sat at the feet of Arāḍa who preached emancipation and of Uḍraka who held the doctrine of quietude, but left them, deciding in His discrimination of Paths that theirs were not the right paths.

4. After considering which of the various sacred traditions in the world was the highest, and failing to obtain exact knowledge from others, He entered after all on austerities of extreme difficulty.

5. Then seeing this to be a false path, He gave up that extended course of austerity too and, realizing that the sphere of trance was the highest, He ate choice food to prepare His mind for the understanding of immortality.

6. With wide-stretching eyes, the gait of a bull, and stout, golden arms as long as a yoke, He betook himself to a *pipal* tree in His desire to grasp the supreme method of reaching conviction.

He attains Illumination.

7. Seating Himself determinedly there and as immovable in His steadfastness as the king of mountains, He overcame the fearsome hosts of Māra. Then He came to an understanding of the holy stage, which can neither pass away nor be lost.

8. The dwellers in Heaven, whose minds were set on immortality,

1. The epithets are chosen to emphasise in their straightforward sense the contrast between the city and the forest but, at any rate as regards *c*, probably have second meanings applicable to the latter. Thus the forest is *abhaya* in the religious sense as compared with the city (see verse 18 below), and *anuraktajana* may refer to the birds (vii, 11 and 21). It is doubtful if *b* should be given a second sense; for this can only be done by resort to dubious dictionary uses (*haya* = bos grunniens and *ratha* = 'a reed'?).

4. *Eva* which I translate 'after all' draws attention to the fact that the Buddha, after rejecting *tapas* in verse 2, now decides to give it a trial.

6. *Suvarṇa* is an adjective here, as in iv, 18, and there is no need to amend to *suvarṇapīta*° with Gawroński.

learning that He had fulfilled His task, rejoiced with an exceeding great joy, but the court of Māra was downcast and trembled.

9. The earth with its mountains shook, an auspicious breeze blew, the drums of the gods sounded and rain fell from a cloudless sky.

10. And having reached comprehension of the supreme, unaging truth, He took His way in His all-pervading mercy to the city girdled by the Varāṇasī to expound the everlasting victory over death.

The Buddha turns the Wheel of the Law.

11. Then for the benefit of the world the Seer turned in the assembly there the Wheel of the Law, whose hub is the truth, whose felloes are steadfastness, right views and mental concentration and whose spokes are the ordinances of the Rule.

12–13. And explaining in detail with its three divisions and twelve separate statements the supreme fourfold truth, which is unequalled, pre-eminent and incontrovertible, namely, 'This is suffering, this is its origin which consists in the persistence of active being, this is its suppression and this the means', He converted first of all him of the Kauṇḍinya *gotra*.

14. For not only did He himself pass over the flood of evil, which cannot be forded, whose waters are the determinants of existence with the fish of mental troubles and which is agitated by the waves of anger, intoxication and fear, but He also ferried the world across.

He visits Kapilavāstu.

15. Then, after converting multitudes in Kāśi, Gaya and Girivraja, He went in the depth of His pity to His ancestral town to bring favour on it.

16. For Gautama, appearing with wondrous form like that of the rising sun, just as the sun dispels the darkness, dispelled the darkness of ignorance of the people, who were devoted to the objects of the senses and followed many and varied paths.

17. Then He saw all around Him Kapilavāstu, celebrated for the exceeding loveliness of its dwellings, pure in wealth and thought and surrounded by auspicious groves, and yet was no more affected by longing for it than if He were looking at a forest.

10. *Vibhu* may also mean 'the Lord' here and *amṛtam* may be an adjective, in which case *paramārtham* is the object of both *avabudhya* and *upadarśayitum*.

11. I suspect that *mati* stands here for *smṛti*, whose inclusion the metre will not allow. Could the original possibly have had *sati*?

13. Seeing that the Wheel of the Law as depicted in Buddhist sculptures never has twelve spokes, it may be only a coincidence that the modern cartwheel in Bihar has twelve spokes arranged in three sets of four (Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, § 154), corresponding exactly to these traditional epithets (for which see also *AK*, IV, 246 ff.). The point of *latā* in 12 *b* is not clear to me except as filling up the verse.

14. LVP suggests in *d cātyatārayat* and Gawroński *codatārayat*. *Doṣa* is a synonym for *kleśa* (see note on xiv, 37).

17. For *d* cf. *B*, i, 51(56) and my explanation, *JRAS*, 1927, p. 214.

18. For He had become free of all trammels by being controlled in mind and master of Himself, and that too, though kinsfolk, fellow-countrymen, friends and possessions are full of dangers of many kinds (for the religious life).

19. If received with honour He did not feel joy, or if with contempt grief; resolute in mind, He was unmoved equally by threats of violence or by luxury, by pleasure or by pain.

The king visits Him.

20. Then the lord of the earth, hearing that his Son had returned as a Tathāgata, went forth with such haste in his yearning to see Him that but few horses followed him.

21. The Blessed One, seeing the king arriving thus tremulous with hope and the rest of the people with tearstained faces, flew up into the air in order to convert them.

The Buddha's miraculous display.

22. He walked in the air as if on the earth, then He stopped and sat down, then He lay down unhesitatingly; He divided Himself into many forms and then became one again.

23. He walked on the water as if on dry land, He penetrated the earth as if it were water, then He shed rain like a cloud in the sky and then He blazed like the newly-risen sun.

24. Simultaneously blazing like a fire and shedding water like a cloud and shining with the brilliance of refined gold, He resembled a cloud glorious with the hues of sunset.

25. Looking up at Him, as at an uplifted banner girdled with clusters of gold and jewels, the king felt unequalled ecstasy and the prostrate crowd adored Him.

26. So seeing that through the greatness of His supernatural powers the ruler of men was ready for conversion and that the townspeople were favourably disposed to Him, the Teacher instructed them in the Law and the Rule.

Conversion of the king,

27. Then the king obtained the First Fruit for the fulfilment of the immortal Law and accordingly, on entering into possession of the unequalled Law of the Sage, he prostrated himself before Him as before his spiritual guide.

and of many Śākyas.

28. Then many pious young Śākya nobles, with minds full of faith and fearful of the afflictions of birth and death like bulls frightened of a forest fire, adopted the wandering life.

29. Those who out of regard for their children or parents were un-

27. I read °*siddhaye* in *b* with LVP and Gawroński; P's reading requires a division into *amṛtasiddha* and *dharmasiddha* which is difficult to understand. For the First Fruit (*srotaāpatti*) see xvii, 27. Gawroński would also read *tato* in *d*, but *yato* is much more in Aśvaghoṣa's style. *Guru* has also the secondary meaning of 'father' here.

able to leave their homes took on themselves to observe the restrictions till death and kept them with all their hearts.

Religious life of the Śākyas.

30. Even those, who were accustomed to live by killing others, desisted from hurting any living creature at all, even the most insignificant one; how much more then did the man of good family, great virtue and pity ever do so? Still more so he who served the Sage.

31. The hardworking man, however poor, however impatient of the contempt of others, similarly did not steal the goods of others; for he shrank from others' wealth as from a snake.

32. And however rich a man might be, however young, however stirred in his senses by passion, he never touched the wives of others; for he deemed them more dangerous than fire.

33. No one said what was untrue or, if true, was unpleasant. No one spoke smooth things which were to the disadvantage of others. They spoke only to the advantage of others, avoiding backbiting.

34. And no one at all was covetous in mind or let his thoughts lust after others' goods. The good man, deeming the pleasures of the world to be but sorrow, behaved there as if already fully satisfied (without resorting to them).

35. Everyone too was compassionate and never even thought of hurting others. For they regarded each other mutually as they would their parents or children or friends.

36. And they grasped the sound doctrine that the Act will bear its predestined fruit in the future, that it does so in the present and that it has done so in the past and that the place of rebirth in the world is determined thereby.

37. Thus from reliance on the Sage they followed the tenfold conduct which is powerful and good in the highest degree, though from the decadence of the age the people were little inclined to virtue.

38. And no one there desired to obtain by these virtues a return to existence in however happy a state; for, understanding all existence to

30. I read *upāsakaḥ* in *d*, which LVP also suggests. Law, following the text, translates *c* and *d* as one sentence, which involves omitting *kimu*.

34. *Kāmasukha* refers to the pleasures derived from the five *kāmaguṇas* or objects of the senses.

36. Cf. xi, 62, which shows that Aśvaghoṣa recognized five *gatis* or 'spheres of rebirth'; some schools held that there were six, adding Asuras to the five spheres (for references *AK*, II, p. 11, n. 2).

37. The 'tenfold conduct' refers to the ten *kuśalakarmapathas*, which are described in the seven preceding verses (discussed *AK*, III, 135 ff., and defined ib. 153 ff.). *Kuśala* refers to any action which advances the doer to a higher point in the religious life; 'good' is hopelessly inadequate as a translation. A verse has dropped out between 33 and 34; it must have described the two missing vocal actions, the opposites of *pāruṣya* and *sambhinnapralāpa*.

be evil, they acted so as to bring about the cessation of existence, not rebirth.

39. The householders even were free from questionings and held the highest and purest views; for many entered the Stream and some reduced passion to a minimum.

40. Whoever even had been occupied there solely with the objects of the senses, which are equivalent to destruction, now lived taking a delight in almsgiving, the Rule and abstinence, and never swerved from the right path.

41. No one too experienced any danger from himself, from others or from fate; the people rejoiced there as in the golden age of Manu, in happiness, plenty and virtue.

42. Thus the city was joyful and free from epidemic or disaster, like the city of Kuru, of Raghu or of Pūru, with the great passion-free Seer dwelling there for their happiness as their guide to safety.

39. For *b* cf. xiii, 18, and for *d* xvii, 37, which shows that the meaning is that they became Sakṛdāgāmins. The translation, 'passion', of *rajas*, though inevitable, is unfortunate as confusing it with *rāga* and *kāma*. Aśvaghoṣa uses it to cover both *rāga* and *dveṣa*, rather like the Sāṁkhya use, and therefore *rajas* and *tamas* combined as at viii, 5, xvi, 18, and xviii, 52, stand for the three roots of evil, *rāga*, *dveṣa*, and *moha*.

40. On further reflection I read *viṣayeṣu* in *a* (so also LVP). There is a play on words in *vibhava*; for, while the sense of 'destruction', 'cessation of being', is thoroughly authenticated in Buddhist works, it also implies, taken in its ordinary sense, that wealth is the means through which the objects of sense are obtained.

CANTO IV

THE WIFE'S BARGAIN

Nanda and his wife.

1. But Nanda remained in his palace with his mistress, absorbed in love, though the Sage was expounding the Law there and his kinsfolk were proving their reverence for the Law.

2. For worthy of love, he lived with his mistress like a sheldrake with its mate and because of her presence he paid no heed to (the worship of) Vaiśravaṇa and Śakra, still less therefore to the Law.

3. Three were the names she bore, Sundarī for her majesty and beauty, Māninī for her obstinancy and pride and Bhāminī for her extreme beauty in love and her spirit.

4. A very lotus-pond in the shape of a woman with her laughter for the swans, her eyes for the bees and her swelling breasts for the uprising lotusbuds, she shone all the more by association with Nanda who, being born in the solar dynasty, represented the sun rising from the Eastern Mountain.

5. For in the world of mankind then Sundarī had no peer among women or Nanda among men for their entrancing beauty and, corresponding to it, for their bearing.

6. They seemed as if produced by the Creator to surpass mortals without attaining to the appearance of the gods ; for she was like a divinity wandering in the garden of Nandana, while Nanda was the cause of joy to his family.

7. Had Nanda not gained Sundarī or had she of the arched eyebrows not been united to him, the two of them would certainly have failed to reach the perfection of beauty, like the night and the moon if deprived of each other.

8. The twain dallied blindly together, as if they were a target for

3. I translate *mānena* in *c* by *manasvitayā* according to the gloss on *KS*, iv. 1, 31 ; cf. *Kumārasambhava*, iii, 32, *manasvinīmāna°*. Prof. Charpentier suggests *bhānena* to me, which would do well, if it could be proved to be a term ever applied to a *nāyikā*.

4. Laughter is white in colour, hence the comparison with *haṁsa*. I take *kula* in connexion with the sun to be equivalent to *kulaparvata*, though a little doubtful of the propriety of applying that term to the Udayagiri.

6. There are many parallels to the first line in Buddhist Sanskrit works ; but the idea is much earlier, e.g. *RV*, viii. 19, 12, *avodevam uparimartyaṁ kṛdhi*.

8. I read *tad andhabhūtam* in *d*, as *tad* is essential ; cf. *rāgāndhau*, *KS*, ii. 2, 20. I can find no reference to explain the pairs, Pramoda and Nandī, and Praharṣa and Tuṣṭi. The nearest parallel is *MBh*. i, 2596–7, of the three sons of Dharma and their wives, Śama and Prāpti, Kāma and Rati, Harṣa and Nandā. The new Poona

the God of Love and Rati, or a nest to hold Delight and Joy or vessels for Pleasure and Satisfaction.

9. The pair attracted each other mutually, with their eyes engaged solely in gazing at each other, with their minds intent solely on each other's conversation and with their body-paint rubbed off by their mutual embraces.

10. They sported and shone together as if challenging each other with the glory of their beauty, like a Kimpuruṣa and a Kinnarī standing by a mountain torrent in loving devotion.

11. The pair brought ecstasy to each other with the increase of their mutual passion and in the intervals of exhaustion they sportively intoxicated each other by way of mutual refreshment.

12. Once he covered her with ornaments, not that she should be decorated, but simply in order to serve her; for she was so adorned by her beauty that she was rather the ornament of her ornaments.

The episode of the mirror.

13. Then she put her mirror into her lover's hand, saying, 'Just hold this up in front of me, while I paint myself' and he held it up.

14. Then looking at her husband's moustache she painted her own face similarly, on which Nanda breathed intentionally on the mirror.

15. She laughed inwardly in her mind at the playful trick and naughtiness of her lord, but, pretending to be angry with him, she crinkled up her forehead and frowned at him.

16. And she cast with her left hand, languid with passion, the lotus from her ear on to his shoulder and rubbed the stick of paint she was using up and down his face while his eyes were half shut.

17. Then Nanda feigned terror and prostrated himself with his head at her lotus-like feet, which were girt with tremulous anklets and the toes of which gleamed with the brilliance of their nails.

18. With his head peeping over the fallen flower by the golden table he then appeared, as he conciliated his mistress, like a *nāga* tree broken down by the wind from its excessive burden of flowers on to its golden rail.

19. She clasped him with her arms, so that the strings of pearls swung

edition, i. 60, 32, reads Nandī for Nandā and suggests the possibility that Prīti should be substituted for Prāpti; these changes bring the parallel closer. Possibly the three pairs symbolize *kāma*, *artha*, and *dharma* respectively, showing the perfection of their love. On further consideration I think that perhaps P's *lakṣma°* should be retained in *a*.

11. For the use of intoxicating liquor in such circumstances cf. *KS*, ii. 10, 15, and commentary thereon.

15. This use of *nāma* is common in the *KS*, e.g. v. 3, 10; 4, 28, and 53 &c.

18. According to *KS*, i. 4, 7, there should be at the side of the lovers' bed a narrow platform called a *vedikā* which was used as a table.

The episode of the mirror (*contd.*).

loose from her breasts, and raised him up. 'What a sight you are!' she said and laughed out loud with the earrings hanging across her face.

20. Then looking repeatedly at the face of her husband who had the mirror in his hand, she completed the painting on her cheek, the surface of which was wet from the *tamāla* leaf.

21. Her face seemed like a lotus with the *tamāla* leaf for its water-weed, her dark red lips for its flaming tip and her long flashing eyes for the bees settled on it.

22. Then Nanda respectfully held the mirror which bore witness to her decoration (by its reflection) and, turning his eyes sideways to see the paint, beheld the mischievous face of his mistress.

23. As Nanda looked thus at the face of his beloved on which the lines of paint were rubbed away at the end by her earrings so that it resembled a lotus pressed down by a *kāraṇḍava* bird, he became a still greater source of delight to her.

The Buddha visits Nanda's house and departs, unhonoured.

24. While Nanda was thus taking his delight inside his palace which was like a palace of the gods, the Tathāgata, Whose time for begging had come, entered his house in search of alms.

25. He stood in His brother's house, just as He would have in any other house, with downcast gaze and making no request for alms; then as the negligence of the servants led to His receiving nothing He went away again.

26. For one woman was pounding ointment, another perfuming clothes, another preparing the bath and others weaving sweet-smelling garlands.

27. Therefore none of the young women in that house saw the Buddha, as they were busily employed in providing for their master's amusements, or so the Buddha certainly thought.

28. But a woman, who was at the top of the house, turned her eyes towards the window and saw the Blessed One going away like the blazing sun emerging from the heart of a cloud.

29. Considering the reverence of her master towards the Saint and because of her devotion to Him and His worshipfulness, she stood before Nanda to tell him and at his bidding spoke:

30. 'His Holiness the Guru entered our house, presumably to do us a favour, but failed to obtain alms or speech with anyone or a seat; so He is going away again as if from an uninhabited forest'.

26. Read *pipeṣānuvilepanaṁ* in *a*. The word occurs *Dīpavaṁsa* vi, 8.

30. *Guru*, like *gaurava* in the previous verse, is used through all this passage in the double sense of 'spiritual guide' and 'elder brother' and to emphasize this I leave it untranslated.

31. Hearing that the great Seer had entered his house and departed again without receiving a welcome, he started so as to resemble in the agitation of his beautiful ornaments, clothes and garlands a tree of Paradise shaken by the wind.

Nanda asks leave to follow Him.

32. Then joining his hands like a lotus bud and raising them to his head, he asked his beloved for leave to go, saying 'I want to go and do reverence to the Guru; please give me leave for this'.

33. She clasped him trembling, as a creeper stirred by the wind clasps a *śāla* tree, and, gazing at him with rolling eyes swimming with tears, said to him with a long sigh:—

Sundarī's bargain.

34. 'It is not meet for me to hinder you in the performance of your duty to go and see the Guru. Go, my lord, but return quickly before this paint is dry.

35. Should you however delay longer, I shall inflict a grievous punishment on you; as you lie asleep, I shall repeatedly waken you by beating you with my breasts and shall refuse to speak to you.

36. But if you return to me quickly before the paint is dry, I shall hug you with my unadorned arms with the ointment still wet on them.'

37. She spake to him with unsteady voice and embraced him; and he replied, 'So will I do. Let me go, cruel one, before the Guru is gone too far'.

38. Then she freed him from her arms which were covered with sandalwood paste from her breasts but she did not let him go in her mind. He took off the clothes suited for lovemaking which he was wearing and assumed the appearance proper for offering hospitality.

39. With eyes which were stony and bleak from brooding she watched her lover going away, just as a hind with ears pricked and wild look and the grass dropping from her mouth watches the stag wandering away.

Nanda's departure.

40. But Nanda both hurried to start with mind drawn by desire to see the Sage and at the same time went slowly with backturned gaze, looking at her as a bull-elephant looks at a sportive cow-elephant.

41. Looking with a sidelong glance at Sundarī, who with her slender waist and swelling breasts and thighs resembled a golden rift of a

31. For the point of the comparison with the tree of Paradise see x, 30–6.

35. The nature of the punishment is intended to hint at the firmness of Sundarī's breasts.

36. By 'unadorned arms' she implies that she will consider herself a widow in Nanda's absence.

37. Read *caṇḍe* in *c*.

39. *Sthita* in *b* is perhaps a little difficult, but I do not like Gawroński's *sthira* for it at all, as it implies the exact reverse of what Sundarī was feeling. The corresponding verse in the *BhNŚ* has *samatārā*, 'with expressionless eyes'.

41. The comparison shows that Aśvaghoṣa understands *kākṣa* as equivalent to *ekākṣa*.

Nanda's departure (*contd.*).

mountain with a narrow interior and spurs on each side covered with billowing cloud, he could no more be satisfied with looking than if he were drinking water out of one hand.

42. Reverence for the Buddha drew him forward, love for his wife drew him back again; from irresolution he neither went away nor stood still, like a royal goose pressing forwards on the waves.

43. But when he had gone out of her sight, he descended quickly from the palace roof; then hearing the tinkling of her anklets he tarried again, gripped in his heart.

44. Held back by the passion of his love and drawn forward by his inclination for the Law, he went on reluctantly, half-turned round like a boat on a river going against the stream.

45. Then he stepped out with long strides, thinking 'Perhaps the Guru has already gone', and 'Perhaps I can manage to embrace my mistress, whose excellencies are so lovable, while the paint is still wet.'

He finds the Buddha.

46. Then he saw on the road the Daśabala, Who was revered as the Tathāgata and was free from arrogance even in His father's city, stopping and being saluted on all sides, like the flag of Indra when it flies in a procession and is worshipped.

43. LVP had already suggested the reading *adarśanaṁ tūpagataś ca* adopted in the text.

44. Gawroński returned to this verse in his last notes, suggesting finally *nivartamānaḥ*, but I still think my explanation correct; for it is based on the way a boat behaves when propelled against the stream.

45. Gawroński would read *itaḥ* for *iti* in *b*, which may be right but is not absolutely necessary.

CANTO V

THE INITIATION OF NANDA

Nanda sees the Śākyas honour the Buddha,

1. Then the Śākyas, dismounting from their horses, chariots and elephants and clothed according to their wealth, devoutly made obeisance to the Great Sage, as did the merchants from their great shops.

2. Some paying reverence to Him followed Him a moment, others after making obeisance went away under stress of their business, while others stood in their dwellings with hands clasped in adoration and eyes absorbed in gazing.

3. Then the Buddha went along, cleaving the great stream of devout people there on the royal highway with as much difficulty as if He were entering the stream of a river at the onset of the rains.

4. Thus Nanda was unable to make obeisance to the Tathāgata because of the noblemen flocking to salute Him in the road, but he rejoiced in the exaltation of the Guru.

5. Then as the Blessed One desired to be free of His own following on the road, while retaining the devotion of those who followed other creeds, and wished to lay hold of Nanda who was turning homewards, He took another road.

6. Then He Who knew the good Path and Whose mind had attained discrimination entered a lonely lane, and Nanda, going in front, made obeisance to the Foremost Leader, Who (in His equanimity) was untouched by the feeling of delight.

and greets Him.

7. While walking along slowly and respectfully, with one shoulder covered by his shawl and his body half-bowed, with hands clasped downwards and eyes uplifted, he uttered this speech with sobs:—

8. 'I heard when I was on the roof that His Holiness had honoured us with a visit, so I came hurrying in my anger with (the negligence of) my great household (of servants).

9. Therefore kindly, O Lover of the virtuous, Best of mendicants, out of graciousness for me let Thy time for questing alms be passed in our house; for there is the sun about to reach the centre of the firmament, recalling as it were that it is time (for the midday meal).'

5. Pāda *a* also means, 'wishing to bring emancipation to His following (? kinsfolk) on the right path'. With this translation and taking *anya* to refer to Sundarī, we could give the first line a secondary sense with reference to Nanda, by making both *arasaṅgam* and *janasya* refer to him.

7. The Sanskrit could be translated, 'with his shoulders covered with his shawl'; but Buddhist tradition is unanimous that the Buddha should be addressed with only one shoulder covered.

10. So he addressed Him humbly, with eyes that looked up at Him full of affection and reverence; but the Blessed One made a sign to show that He felt no need of food.

The Buddha gives Nanda His bowl,

11. Then he made obeisance to the Sage and decided to go home, but the Blessed One, Whose eye was like a lotus petal, honoured him by handing to him His begging bowl.

12. Then piously with lotuslike hands which were better suited to holding a bow he took the vessel of the Incomparable Vessel, Who gave it (not for alms but) for the fruit to be obtained in the world.

13. But Nanda turned away, suddenly conscious that the Blessed One was attentive to something else and not interested in him, and stepped from the road to go home, though he had the bowl in his hand, keeping his eye on the Sage.

14. Then when Nanda, though still holding the bowl, wanted to go home out of love for his wife, the Sage confounded him by blocking up the entry of the street.

15. For the Sage perceived that knowledge, the origin of salvation, was weak in Nanda, that the passion of the sins was fierce in him and that he was inclined to the sins and sensuous indulgences; therefore He compelled him to follow.

16. The sins are classified in two categories, and so too the means of purification, namely, that in which a man, in whom the internal impulse is strong, is self-dependent, and that in which a man, to whom external conditions are of most weight, is dependent on outside agency.

17. For he in whom the impulse is strong obtains salvation without difficulty immediately on receipt of a stimulus, but he whose understanding is susceptible only to external conditions obtains salvation with difficulty and only by dependence on another.

18. And Nanda, whose mind was susceptible only to external conditions, identified himself with whomsoever he went to for support; therefore the Sage made this effort in order to draw him out of the slough of love.

12. *Pātra*, 'vessel', means 'a suitable recipient of gifts'.

13. *Parāṅmukhaḥ* might also mean 'averse (from following the Buddha)'.

15. LVP suggests in *c kleśānukūlān viṣayān sitaṁ ca*.

16. *Hetu* here is equivalent to *kuśalamūla*; cf. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* 103. *Saṁkleśa* and *vyavadāna* are regularly joined together in Buddhist works of all schools, e.g. *Majjhima* 115, *VM*, 51 ff., *AKV*, i, p. 12, l. 23, and p. 51, l. 7, *Mahayānasūtrālaṁkāra*, commentary on vi, 1 and *Mhv.* III, 321, 6. This passage is important in partially explaining the emphasis laid on faith in canto xii, for faith is the essential element in those who are moved by impulsion from others (*AK*, IV, 273).

18. For *tanmayatām* cf. *Majjhima* I, 319, *no ca tena tammayo*, in a passage dealing with *saṁkiliṭṭha* and *vodāta* states.

19. But Nanda, writhing with grief, followed the Guru slowly and helplessly, thinking of his wife's face with eyes restlessly watching for him and with the paint still wet.

and takes him to the monastery.

20. Then the Seer led him, who had suffered the assaults of the season of spring and to whom garlands and strings of pearls were dear, to the monastery, famed as the pleasureground of knowledge, in which pleasure in women was destroyed.

21. Then the Compassionate One, considering his wretchedness for a moment and pitying him, caressed his head with His hand, the palm of which bore the wheelmark, and spoke to him thus :—

The Buddha admonishes Nanda,

22. 'My friend, make up your mind to work for tranquillity against the day that fearsome Death arrives; for Death is present on all occasions and slays with every sort of attack.

23. Restrain your restless mind from the unsubstantial pleasure of love, whose enjoyment is shared with others (who may rob you of it) and which is (illusory) as a dream; for the world no more reaches satiety with love than a fire, fanned by the wind, with oblations.

24. The riches of faith are the best of all riches, the taste of wisdom is the most satisfying of all tastes, internal joy is the chief of all joys and to take delight in intellectual knowledge is the most grievous of all pleasures.

25. He who speaks what is advantageous is the best of friends, exertion directed towards Righteousness is the most meritorious of all toils, labour for knowledge is the highest of actions; what is gained by accepting slavery to the senses?

26. Choose then the certain, everlasting, holy joy of tranquillity, which is free from fear, distress and sorrow, which is not dependent on others and cannot be taken away by them; what is the good of suffering calamity for the sake of the objects of the senses?

27. Old age has no equal in taking men's beauty, no calamity in the world equals disease, no danger on earth equals death; yet you must undergo these three whether you would or no.

28. There is no bond equal to affection, no destructive stream equal to desire, no fire equal to the fire of love; if these three did not exist, happiness would be yours.

29. It is certain that separation from one's dear ones must take

21. *Muhūrtaṁ* in *b* is curious; query *muhus taṁ*?

23. I translate *avasthāsu hi* in *c*.

24. Or following LVP we can read in *d*, *'vidyāratir duḥkhatamāratibhyaḥ*, 'the sorrow of ignorance is the most grievous of all sorrows', which is perhaps better sense, but for the text reading cf. *Bṛh. Ār. Up.* (A.S.S. edn.) iv. 4, 10 (= *Īśā Up.* 9) and *MBh.* v, 1137.

place; therefore grief is an inevitable experience, and the frenzy of grief made even other royal seers helplessly lose their self-control.

30. Gird on therefore the armour of wisdom, for the arrows of grief are powerless against the man endowed with patience; and kindle your courage to put an end to existence, just as you would kindle a small fire to burn up a great heap of grass.

31. Just as no knowledgeable man, who takes protective herbs in his hand, is bitten by a snake, so he who has attained indifference and conquered the illusion of the world is not bitten by the snake of grief.

32. By practising Yoga and arriving at the ultimate truth, a man remains unamazed in the hour of death, like a warrior who strives for victory in battle and who, girt with harness and having a good bow, is skilled in the use of arms'.

33. Thus the Tathāgata Who takes pity on all beings addressed him, and Nanda replied to the Blessed One, with bold voice but sinking heart, 'Very well'.

34. Then the great Seer, with His heart full of benevolence, wishing to rescue him from the state of thoughtlessness and deeming him now to be a vessel of knowledge, said 'Ānanda, initiate Nanda into the mendicant's life so as to bring him to tranquillity'.

who refuses to be initiated.

35. Then the Vaideha sage said to Nanda who was weeping in his mind, 'Come hither'; then Nanda going slowly to him said, 'I will not become a mendicant'.

36. On this the Vaideha sage hearing Nanda's intention told it to the Buddha; the Great Sage, learning from him too about Nanda's state of mind, spoke to the latter again :—

The Buddha again admonishes Nanda.

37. 'I, your elder, have become a mendicant, your brothers have followed Me in this and you see that our kinsfolk who have not left their homes have taken vows on themselves; are you, therefore, who have not conquered yourself, experiencing satisfaction in your mind or not?

38. Surely you have forgotten about the royal seers, who joyfully adopted the forest life, spewing out the passions, passionate only for tranquillity and so not attached to the miserable passions.

39. Again when you consider the evils of a householder's life and

31. For the protective power of certain plants against snakes see *Kauṭ. A.* i. 20, 9, and cf. *RV*, i. 191, 1-3 with the notes thereon in Geldner's translation (Göttingen, 1923).

39. *Ālaya* has also the second meaning of 'attachment' here. The last pāda is interesting as an early example of a method common in later kāvya. The emphasis comes on *sopasargam* by its position at the end of the verse; for ordinarily a dying man would have no wish to leave his country and the comparison seems absurd till we reach the final word which trium-

perceive the peace of mind to be gained by abandoning it, how can you refuse to leave your home? It is only the man at the point of death who would refuse to leave a plague-stricken country; why imitate him?

40. How can you be so devoted to the wilderness of the cycle of existence and not wish to take the holy way when your feet have been set in that very road? You are like a traveller separated from his caravan, who does not wish to take the right road, even when set on it.

41. Only the man who would lie down to sleep in a house everywhere in flames and would be so stupid as not to leave it, would remain heedless in the world which is being burnt in the fire of Death with the flames of disease and old age.

42. That man must be deplored who, though Death stands over him with the fatal net, yet remains heedless and perverse in mind, like a man sentenced to death who is drunk and laughs and babbles on the way to the stake.

43. Since kings and heads of houses have gone, are going and will go (to the forest), leaving their relations and possessions, why have so much regard for the fleeting union with your dear ones?

44. I perceive nothing pleasurable in which by its change of state suffering might not arise. Seeing, therefore, that attachment to any object is out of place, it is equally out of place to grieve at its loss.

45. So, my friend, understand this world to be unstable, a mere phantasmagoria, a magician's kaleidoscopic show. Abandon the snare of delusion, namely your mistress, if it is your intention to cut through the snare of suffering.

46. It is better to take disagreeable food which enures to one's good than savoury food which does not agree with one. Therefore I urge you to a way which, though unpleasant, is holy and pure.

47. Just as a child's nurse holds him firmly to pull out a clod of earth he has put in his mouth, so indeed in My wish to pull out the dart of passion I have spoken to you harshly for your good.

phantly rounds off the verse. For everyone wants to leave a plague-stricken country, except men at the point of death, who would naturally be obstinate in refusing to follow the course all men who still hope to live take. Proposed amendments such as of *deśaṁ* to *dehaṁ* are defective as leaving *sopasargam* without point; for a dying man's reluctance is to leave his body at all and is not materially affected by the nature of the disease he is suffering from.

43. It is also possible to take *yayuḥ*, &c., as mere auxiliaries to *vihāya*, 'have been leaving, &c.'.

44. In *d* I read *yadā* for *yadi*. The latter, if correct, could be taken with either *c* or *d*, but neither gives an argument that is quite satisfactory in form. Law takes *c* and *d* as separate sentences, from which I find it impossible to extract good sense.

45. *Jāla* in the second line might mean not 'net', 'snare', but 'mass'.

47. For the simile cf. *Aṅguttara* III, 6.

48. Just as a doctor compels a patient to take medicine though it be disagreeable to taste, so, though what I have told you is repellent to you, yet it is conducive to your good and is for your benefit.

49. Devote your mind then to the highest good, so long as this favourable moment endures, so long as Death does not come to you and so long as your youth permits you to carry out Yoga'.

Nanda is initiated.

50. Thus the Teacher, the Benevolent and Compassionate One, addressed Nanda, who said, 'I shall do, Lord, all Thou sayest in accordance with Thy commands'.

51. Then the sage of Videha, taking him, kept hold of him and led him off despite his reluctance, and had the Good Fortune of his beautiful hair parted from the royal umbrella of his head; and all the while his eyes overflowed with tears.

52. So his face, covered with tears and bowed down while his hair was being banished, resembled a lotus in a pond with the top of its stalk bent when it is being soaked with rainwater.

53. Then Nanda, dressed in clothes of the mournful colour of ochre-yellow tree-bark and despondent as a freshly captured elephant, appeared like the full moon entering the dark fortnight at night's close and bathed in the rays of the rising sun.

51. The seat of Śrī, the royal Fortune, is the royal umbrella; also when his head was shaved, the smooth scalp was like the smooth exterior of an umbrella.

53. In *a* LVP suggests *tanukaṣāya°* as possible.

CANTO VI

SUNDARĪ'S DESPAIR

Sundarī's anxiety.

1. Dismayed then, with her lord carried away by his respect for his elder brother and with her ecstasy vanished, Sundarī remained in the same place on the palace roof but appeared no longer the same.

2. Resting her breasts against the window in expectation of her lord's return, she leant out from the palace roof looking at the gateway, while her earrings dangled across her face.

3. With her necklaces of pearls hanging down and their strings swaying, as she bent down from the pavilion, she resembled some fair Apsaras watching her lover fall from the heavenly mansion on the exhaustion of the merit he had acquired by austerities.

4. She stood, wrongly suspecting her lord, with her forehead dripping with anxiety, the paint on her face sucked in by her sobs and her eyes restless with brooding.

5. Then from fatigue with standing so long she fell, as she stood, on the couch and lay across it with her necklaces scattered about and her feet half hanging out of her slippers.

6. On this one of the women, unable to bear the sight of her grief and tears, suddenly burst into weeping and drummed with her feet on the palace stairs.

7. As soon as she heard the noise the woman made on the stairs, Sundarī quickly jumped up again and thrilled, once more transported with ecstasy; for she thought her lover had returned.

8. She rushed to the head of the stairway, regardless in her joy of the end of her mantle which had fallen down, and scaring the pigeons on the tiles of the roof with the sound of her anklets.

9. Disappointed at seeing only the woman, she sighed and returned to her couch and with her face turned pale she grew all haggard like the sky at the approach of winter when the moon turns pale.

10. Sorrowing at not seeing her lord and inflamed with love and wrath, she sat down with her face resting on one hand and descended into the river of care whose water is grief.

11. That rival of the lotus, her face, appeared, as it rested on her

1. 'The same', i.e. *sundarī*, 'beautiful'.

4. Taking *anyatra* in *d* as equivalent to *anyathā*; otherwise 'suspecting her lord of being somewhere else', i.e. 'with some other woman'.

7. Read *prītyāṁ* in *d* for *prītyā*, as *prasaktā* requires the locative.

hand coloured red as a bud, like a lotus bent over the reflection of a lotus in the water.

12. Turning everything over in her feminine way, the real state of affairs never occurred to her that, although her husband's affection for her was well proved and although he was still devoted to her, he had turned to the Law; and imagining all sorts of things she uttered many lamentations:—

She suspects Nanda of being unfaithful.

13. 'My lover promised that he would return before the paint was dry on me; why then is he, usually so faithful to his word, so faithless to it to-day?

14. He is noble, virtuous, compassionate, ever fearful of me, very courteous. Whence comes this change of feeling, hitherto unknown? From aversion on his part? From some offence of mine?

15. My lover is so fond of love and so affectionate to me that surely his heart has become estranged; for apart from that, if his passion for me still continued he would certainly have returned in fulfilment of my wishes.

16. My lover must then certainly have seen someone else superior to me in beauty and feeling; for, having soothed me thus uselessly, he has gone away, deserting me, who am so attached to him.

17. As for his devotion to the Buddha which he talked about, that was merely an excuse for going away from me; for, if he believed in the Sage, surely he would have been as afraid of falsity as of fearsome Death.

18. If, when holding the mirror to serve me as I decorated myself, he was thinking of someone else and if he is now holding the mirror for someone else, bravo to his fickle love!

19. Women who do not wish to endure such grief should never trust men. How can one reconcile his former complaisance for me and his present desertion of me in an instant like any low fellow?'

The waiting woman informs her of Nanda's initiation.

20. So she spake and more, parted from her beloved and surmising some thing or other in him; and the waiting woman, hurriedly mounting to the pavilion, spoke to her thus with tears:—

21. 'You are oversuspicious and misjudge your beloved, who never did you any wrong, although he is young, handsome and endowed with charm, fortune and high birth.

22. Do not, mistress, blame your beloved master, who is worthy of affection and ever acted out of love to you. He never looks at any woman except you, like the ruddy sheldrake with its mate.

19. Or *janavat* in *d* may mean 'as if he were a stranger (and not my husband)'. Cf. the use of *jana* in xv, 31.

23. But he whose one wish is to dwell at home for your sake, who wishes to live only to please you, has, so it is said, been initiated with face streaming with tears into the mendicant's life by his noble brother, the Tathāgata.'

Sundarī's despair.

24. Then on hearing what had happened to her husband, she jumped up straightway trembling, and, throwing her arms into the air, screamed loudly like a cow-elephant stricken to the heart with a poisoned dart.

25. With eyes reddened with the salve of tears and slender body shaken with anguish she fell down, breaking and scattering her ropes of pearls, like the bough of a mango-tree breaking from the excessive weight of its fruit.

26. Wearing lotus-coloured clothes, with lotus-face and eyes long like the petal of a lotus, lotus-coloured like a fallen (statue of) Lakṣmī without her lotus, she withered like a lotus-garland in the sun.

27. And ever reflecting on the virtues of her lord, she heaved deep sighs and swooned; she flung her forearms about, the depositaries of glorious ornaments, and her reddened fingers.

28. 'I have no need now for ornaments', so saying she threw them about in all directions. As she lay without ornaments, she looked like a creeper with its clusters of flowers torn off.

29. She embraced the gold-handled mirror, saying 'It was held by my lover for me', and, as if angry, she vigorously rubbed her cheeks, on which the *tamāla* leaves had been disposed with such difficulty.

30. She moaned like a shelduck when its mate has had the tip of its wing broken by a hawk, and vied as it were (with her moans) with the pigeons on the palace roof, when their throats heave with cooing.

31. Though lying on a costly couch, which was covered with soft many-coloured rugs and decorated with beryl and diamonds and had golden feet, she tossed about and could obtain no relief.

32. And seeing her lord's ornaments, clothes, *vīṇā* and other diversions, she entered the dark house of grief and wailed aloud and sank down as if fallen into a bog.

33. For Sundarī, with her bosom straining with sobs like a cave

26. Padmā is also a name of Śrī or Lakṣmī. For *vipadmā* cf. *Rām.* iii. 40, 19 and 52, 22 and the other epic passages quoted by G.

27. *Karāgre* dual, properly 'the tips of her two hands'. *Prakoṣṭha* neuter is curious and possibly we should amend to °*nihitau prakoṣṭhau*.

29. *Gaṇḍa* according to Bhāmaha was considered by some to be an ugly word; he discusses, *Kāvyālaṁkāra* i, 53–6, when it may nevertheless be used, and would have condemned its use here.

32. For the *vīṇā* cf. *KS*, i. 4, 10, according to which the other diversions would include painting materials and a copy of the latest poem.

33. Divide °*darī guheva* in *b*.

Sundarī's despair (*contd.*).

whose opening has been split by the fiery thunderbolt and with her heart burning with the fire of grief, seemed then as if out of her senses.

34. She wept, she became languid, she howled, she grew exhausted, she paced up and down, she stood still, she wailed, she brooded, she grew angry, she scattered her garlands about, she scratched her face, she rent her garments.

35. The waiting women, hearing the stormy weeping of that beauteous one, climbed in great distress from inside the house to the pavilion, like frightened Kinnara women climbing the side of a mountain.

36. Much troubled, and with downcast faces streaming with tears as if they were lotus-ponds when the lotuses are dripping with rain, they sat down beside her according to their position and rank.

37. Surrounded by those women on the palace roof that slender beauty, wasted with anxiety, seemed like the crescent moon in an autumn cloud encircled by lightning flashes.

One of her women counsels courage,

38. But the oldest of the women there, who was the most respected by her and the most gifted in speech, embraced her from behind and wiping away her tears said :—

39. 'You are the wife of a royal seer and it is not at all fitting for you to grieve when your lord has taken refuge in the Law. For the groves of asceticism are the hereditary possessions of the Ikṣvāku race and sought after by them.

40. You know that for the most part the wives of those mighty Śākyas who go off in search of salvation treat their homes as groves of asceticism, taking on themselves the vow of chastity as if it were the same as love.

41. Let your tears flow if your husband is captivated by another because of her greater beauty and qualities; for who, possessed of spirit and beauty and rich in qualities, would not shed tears, when her heart is broken?

42. Or if he had come by some misfortune—but may that never happen!—tears would be in place; for there is no sorrow heavier than that to a woman of good family whose husband is her god.

43. But now he has betaken himself to the Law, blissfully joyful, master of himself, assured of the reward, with desire quelled and unacquainted with misfortune. Why do you weep in distress? It is rather the time for merrymaking.'

36. *Tām anu* also means that they were much troubled in sympathy with her trouble; cf. *KS*, vi. 2, 10, *tam anu harṣa-śokau*.

37. The crescent moon, because it is thin like she was.

44. Though spoken to much in this way lovingly by her, she did not regain self-control; then another woman spoke to her affectionately what was pleasing to her mind and was suited to the occasion:—

and another promises that Nanda will return.

45. 'I declare the absolutely certain truth to you when I say that you will see your beloved coming here very soon. He can no more remain there without you than an animate body can exist without consciousness.

46. He would not be happy even in the lap of luxury if you were not there at his side, and whatever dire calamities fell on him, he would not feel distress so long as he could see you.

47. Be of good cheer, restrain your sobs, keep your eyes from shedding hot tears; such is his feeling and such his passion towards you that without you he will find no pleasure in following the Law.

48. It may be argued that, having taken the mendicant's robe, he will not abandon it because high birth and resolution are combined in him; but what can there be wrong in leaving it again, when he took it against his will, thinking only of returning home?'

49. Thus Sundarī, robbed of her heart by her lover and soothed by her maidens, went to her palace, just as Rambhā of old, accompanied by the Apsarases, descended to earth seeking Dramiḍa.

44. *Praṇayāt* in *d* may also mean 'without formality', 'straight out'.

45. *Āśraya*, a very common term in Buddhist works, is exactly defined as 'the body furnished with organs' at *AK*, II, 126. In the *AK* (e.g. II, 12) *sattvākhya* is regularly used for 'animate' as opposed to 'inanimate'.

46. The first pāda has also the secondary meaning 'even in the lap of Śrī'.

47. The construction of the relatives in the second line is noteworthy; cf. below xi, 54, and still closer, *B.* vii, 57.

CANTO VII

NANDA'S LAMENTATIONS

Nanda's unhappiness.

1. Bearing with his body, but not of his will, the insignia prescribed by the Master's ordinance, Nanda was dejected through the embarrassment of the thoughts of his mind which kept turning on his wife.

2. He was living in a pleasaunce with the glory of flowers in the month of flowers, with the flower-bannered god assailing him on all sides and with the feelings customary to youth, and so, though that pleasaunce was a cloister, he felt no peace.

3. Brooding on his mistress as he stood in misery beneath a row of mango-trees beset with humming bees, he stretched himself repeatedly as if he were drawing a bow with his fathom-long arms.

4. Receiving from the mango-trees a rain of tiny flowers like saffron powder, he was reminded of his wife and sighed deeply, like a newly caught elephant in confinement.

5. He who was accustomed to relieve the grief of those who came to him for help and to cause grief to the proud, was now himself subject to grief; he leant against an *aśoka* tree and grieved for his mistress, to whom an *aśoka* grove was so dear, and who was the grove of delight to her lover.

6. Perceiving a delicate *priyaṅgu* tree, his mistress' favourite, that emerged from the trees as if in terror, he remembered with sobs his mistress with her tear-strewn face and pale as the flowers of the *priyaṅgu*.

7. Seeing a cuckoo sitting on the flower-covered crown of a *tilaka* tree, he pictured it as the coils of hair of his beloved on her white robe as she leant against the parapet of the palace.

8. When he noticed a blossoming *atimuktaka* creeper growing up a mango-tree and clinging to it, he reflected, 'When will Sundarī embrace me thus?'

2. *Vihārasaṁsthaḥ* with its double meaning is practically an instance of the figure *virodha* so beloved of later prose writers.

3. LVP suggests *yugadīrghabāhū* in *c*, but I do not think *jṛmbh* can be used transitively. Cf. *Kirātārjunīya* x, 53 and Mallinātha thereon and *Rām.* iii. 30, 28. *Priyāṁ dhyātvā* may have a second meaning applicable to the bow of 'aiming at his mistress'.

4. Saffron as an element of body-paint (see i, 7) reminded him of his wife.

5. *Priyāśokavanām* has probably more meanings here than the two given above, depending on the other meanings of *vana*, 'abode', 'water', and 'passion' or 'wish' (cf. the play on *vana* at *Mhv.* I, p. 91, 14-15 and note *Dhammapada* 344); it might also be derived direct from the verb *van* in the sense, 'procuring the delight of her lover'.

8. I read with G in *c* and *d*, *kadaivaṁ śliṣṭā bhaven*.

9. The *nāga* trees there, though studded with flowers with yellow interiors as if with gold-filled caskets of ivory, no more drew the eyes of Nanda in his sorrow than desert trees would have.

10. Though the *gandhaparṇa* trees were wafting odours and were full of fragrance like the mistresses of the Gandharvas, they failed to delight his sense of smell, but rather made his heart burn; for he was compact of grief and ever thinking of another.

11. The forest, resounding with bees sipping honey, and with merry and joyful cuckoos and with peacocks with passionate voices, merely made his mind the more distraught.

12. With his heart burning there with the fire of passion, which had his wife for the firestick from which it originated, his thoughts for its smoke and his grief for its flames, he departed from steadfastness and uttered many laments:—

His laments.

13. 'Now I realise how hard the task those have accomplished, are accomplishing and will accomplish who, deserting their weeping mistresses, have practised, are practising and will practise austerities.

14. There are no bonds in the world, whether made of wood, cord or iron, so strong as a bright-eyed face and a sweet voice.

15. For the former can be cut or broken by one's own might or the strength of friends, but the snare of love cannot be loosed except by true knowledge or hardheartedness.

16. I have neither the knowledge that leads to peace nor, being kindly by nature, can I be hardhearted. On the one hand I am passionate by nature and on the other the Buddha is my Guru. I am placed as it were between the two wheels of a cart.

9. I read *puṣpaiḥ karālā* in *a*, as the instrumental is required to correspond to *samudgaiḥ*; P's reading might be a corruption of *puṣpaiḥ karālā* or *ṣkarālā* (cf. variant at ii, 63 a). *Samudga* (or *samudgaka*) is a kind of small round box; they are appropriately described as ivory because *nāga* also means 'elephant'. *Dāntaiḥ* should also have another meaning as applied to *puṣpaiḥ*, but I cannot suggest anything suitable. *Karāla* is especially used of teeth and so might be considered applicable here in relation to the suggestion of *dānta*.

10. For the association of the Gandharvas with odours, cf. e.g. *Atharvaveda* viii. 10, 27, and xii. 1, 23.

11. *Nīlakaṇṭha* is a name for peacocks and blue rollers and *vinīlakaṇṭhna* probably has the former meaning here.

15. Verses 14 and 15 are closely related to *Dhammapada* 345 and 346 (= *Jātaka* II, 140 and *L'Udānavarga Sanskrit* (ed. N. P. Chakravarti, Paris, 1930), ii, 5 and 6.) The construction of the gerund with *yā* in the first line of 15 to express the passive in the sense of what generally happens or can be done is remarkable. It recalls the formation of the passive in the modern vernaculars and there is a possible parallel at *B.* vi, 48. The construction of *yā* with the infinitive in the same sense is authenticated, but generally with the negative, by two instances in Gauḍapāda's *bhāṣya* on *Sāṁkhyakārikā* 11, and the later cases cited by Kielhorn, *Album Kern*, 119.

16. For *d* cf. also *MBh.* (new Poona edition) i. 53, 6, where unfortunately the reading is uncertain.

His laments (*contd.*).

17. For, though I have accepted the mendicant's badge and am taught by One Who as my brother and spiritual guide is my Guru in two senses, in no circumstances, like a sheldrake separated from its mate, can I obtain peace.

18. And now too my thoughts run on what, when I clouded the mirror, she said to me, pretending to be angry but laughing roguishly, 'What a sight you are!'

19. Now too those words of hers, which the damsel spoke to me weeping, with eyes swimming with tears, 'See that you come back before the paint is dry on me', oppress my mind.

20. Surely that mendicant there by the mountain torrent, meditating at ease in the Yogin's posture, is not attached to anyone as I am; he sits calm and as if all his desires had been fulfilled.

21. I suspect no mistress attracts his feelings, since he studies the doctrine absorbedly, regardless of the cuckoos' calls and not letting his gaze wander over the beauty of spring.

22. Bravo to him who walks up and down free from yearning! His resolution is strong, he is free from curiosity and arrogance, his soul is tranquil and his mind turned inward.

23. Who would have such strength of mind in the first flush of youth as he saw in the month of Madhu, that enemy of the religious life, the water covered with lotuses and the flowering groves frequented by cuckoos?

He recalls instances of sages who went astray through women,

24. For women have captivated crowds of divine and royal seers by their passion, pride, gait, beauty, smiles, anger, intoxication and voices. How then should they not attract a man like me?

25. For instance, overcome by love, Hiraṇyaretas followed Svāhā and Indra Ahalyā; how much more then should I, a mere man, lacking their courage and resolution, be conquered by a woman?

26. The Sun, conceiving a passion for Saraṇyū, had his orb whittled away for love of her, according to the legend. He took the shape of a horse to have intercourse with her in the shape of a mare, whence sprang the two Aśvins.

27. For the sake of a woman Vaivasvata and Agni, abandoning self-control and informing their minds with enmity, waged war on each other for many years. Who else then in this world would not go astray over a woman?

27. Vaivasvata might be Manu, Yama, or any son of the sun such as Karṇa, but I cannot trace any story with the remotest resemblance to this verse. I have re-examined L's reading; the syllable *gnyo* has been rewritten and I am not at all sure that it might not be meant for *tryo*, making the reference to Atri, but this too is inexplicable.

28. The sage Vasiṣṭha, best of the virtuous, consorted with Akṣamālā, a low-caste woman; and she bore him a son Kapiñjalāda, who lived on earth and water just as the sun sucks up water from the earth.

29. So too the seer Parāśara, master of the weapon of the curse, associated with Kālī, the daughter of a fish, of whom a son was born, the illustrious Dvaipāyana, who classified the Vedas.

30. And Dvaipāyana, who was devoted to religion, dallied with a harlot in Kāśi, who struck him with her foot with its jingling anklet, just as a cloud is struck by a flash of lightning.

31. So too Aṅgiras, son of Brahman, with his mind overwhelmed by passion, cohabited with Sarasvatī; she bore him a son, Sārasvata, who promulgated again the lost Vedas.

32. Thus at the sacrifice of the royal seer Dilipa, Kāśyapa, inflamed by a divine damsel, took a sacrificial ladle and threw his seed into the fire, whence Asita was born.

33. Though Aṅgada had reached the end of his austerities, he was overcome by love and lay with Yamunā, on whom he begat the very wise Rathītara, beloved of antelopes (?).

34. The sage Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, though living in the forest in holy peace, swerved from steadfastness, like a high-peaked mountain in an earthquake, at the sight of the king's daughter, Śāntā.

35. The son of Gādhin, who threw away a kingdom to become a Brahman seer and went to the forest, indifferent to material things, was captivated by Ghṛtācī and deemed ten years with her but a single day.

36. So too at the prick of Kandarpa's arrows Sthūlaśiras became infatuated with Rambhā and, when not accepted by her, cursed her in the recklessness of his passionate and wrathful nature.

37. And when Ruru's mistress, Pramadvarā, was robbed of her senses by a serpent, he killed all serpents wherever he saw them and in his wrath failed to preserve his self-respect or to continue his austerities.

38. So the royal seer, the son of Budha and Īlā, who possessed the power of a god and bore the marks of his fame and virtue as his grandfather the mark of the hare, became frantic as he thought of the Apsaras Urvaśī.

39. And the passionate Tālajaṅgha, enamoured of Menakā on the top of the mountain, was struck in wrath by Viśvāvasu with his foot, like a *hintāla* palm by the thunderbolt.

37. I read in *d* with LVP, *hriyaṁ na roṣe na tapo.*

38. Purūravas is *yaśoguṇāṅka* from the scars of the wounds received in fighting for the gods; cf. *CII*, III, p. 6, l. 17, *parākramāṅkasya* of Skandagupta. *Prabhāva* has possibly the sense of *prabhāvana* here, 'causing to flourish', i.e. 'who helped the gods'.

He recalls instances of sages who went astray through women (*contd.*),

40. And when his dearest wife was drowned in the waters of the Ganges, king Jahnu, with his mind overcome by the disembodied god, blocked the river with his arms, just as Maināka, lord of mountains, held up the Ganges.

41. And king Śantanu, the son of Pratipa, the light of his family and glorious in body, lost all self-control when Gaṅgā left him, and tossed about like a *śāla* tree torn up by the roots by the waters of the Ganges.

42. When Somavarman also, who wore the armour of good conduct, was robbed by Saunandakin of his wife Urvaśī, as of the sovereignty of the earth which he had obtained, he roamed about, it is said, lamenting her, with his armour pierced by the mind-born god.

43. And king Bhīmaka, whose power on earth was terrible and who was known as Senāka because of his hosts like the divine lord of Senā when he received his army, followed his dead wife in death.

44. And Janamejaya, desiring to marry Kālī when her husband Śantanu had gone to heaven, met death at the hands of Bhīṣma rather than give up his love for her.

45. And though Pāṇḍu was cursed by Madana that he would die if he united himself with a woman, yet he had intercourse with Mādrī and recked nought of the death that would ensue out of the great seer's curse by doing what was forbidden.

46. Such numbers of divine and royal seers were dominated by women under the power of love; how much more then should I, who am weak in intelligence and energy, be miserable when I do not see my mistress?

and determines to go home.

47. I will therefore go home again and practise love at my will in due form; for the mendicant's symbols are not suited to one who in the restlessness of his senses ever thinks of another and has lapsed from the path of the Law.

48. He who, taking the beggar's bowl in his hand, shaving his head, laying aside his pride and wearing the sad-coloured robes, is prone to

40. If *bhujābhyām* is to be construed as well with Maināka, it might mean, 'with its base'.

43. The sense of the comparison in the last pāda is uncertain; *āttasena* is ambiguous and also means 'deprived of his army'. Another alternative is 'like the divine general (Indra or Skanda) when he received Senā', or 'when he was deprived of Senā'.

44. There is a curious confusion of legends here. *B.* xi, 18, shows that the reference is to Ugrāyudha of the Dvimīḍha line who was killed by Bhīṣma. Janamejaya was Ugrāyudha's contemporary of the South Pāñcāla dynasty and was killed by him. References will be found in Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 115 and 166, and the full story, including the demand for Kālī, at *Harivaṁśa*, 1082–1110.

excitement and devoid of self-restraint and tranquillity, is a mendicant in appearance only and not in reality, like a lamp in a picture.

49. He who has gone out (as a mendicant) but from whom the passions have not gone out, who wears the earth-coloured robe but has not taken off the robe of sin, who carries the beggar's vessel and yet has not become a vessel of virtue, is, despite the insignia he wears, neither a householder nor a mendicant.

50. For my thought also that it would not be proper for a man of good family to give up the badges once put on carries no weight, when I think of the royal heroes who gave up the groves of asceticism and returned to their homes.

51. For instance, the king of the Śālvas with his son, Ambarīṣa, Rāma Andha, and Antideva the Sāṅkṛti, putting off the hermits' apparel, resumed the ordinary garb of the world and, cutting off the twisted braids, wore the regal tiara again.

52. Therefore while my Guru is away begging, I will give up the mendicant's robe and go home at once from here; for the man who bears the honoured symbols with wavering mind and sin-fuddled understanding and whose judgment is impaired has nothing to expect in the next existence and has no part even in the world of living beings.'

49. Cf. also for *b* *Dhammapada* 9 (= *Theragāthā* 969).

CANTO VIII

WOMAN THE OBSTACLE

A disciple questions Nanda,

1. Then a certain disciple, going up benevolently with gracious mien to Nanda whose wavering look showed him to be so yearning to go home as to be all yearning, said to him :—

2. 'Surely the tear-clouds on your face reveal the darkness of ignorance in your heart. Master yourself, restrain your emotion, for tears and holy peace do not go together.

3. Pain is defined as twofold according as it originates in the mind or in the body ; and so there are two kinds of physician for it, those skilled in the methods of the sacred lore and those expert in medical treatment.

4. If therefore your disease is of the body, explain it promptly to a physician, holding nothing back ; for the sick man who conceals his illness falls into a worse calamity.

5. But if your suffering is mental, tell me and I shall expound its cure to you ; for the physicians for minds which are the prey of the darkness of ignorance or of passion are those who know the soul from thorough investigation.

6. If you think it fitting, my friend, to tell me, tell the entire truth ; for the movements of men's minds are manifold, there is much in them that is secret and highly involved.'

7. Moved by this pressing and by his own eagerness to tell of his resolution, Nanda then put his hand in his and entered another part of the grove.

8. So they sat down there in a clean bower of creepers, bursting with flowers, which embraced them, as it were, with soft young shoots waving in the gentle breeze.

who tells of his resolve.

9. Then choking all the while with deep sobs he told his intention to the disciple who was skilled in the sacred learning and in speech, though his intention was such as a wise mendicant would have found it hard to avow :—

2. Note the singular verb after a double subject, to which there are a few parallels.

3. Cf. *MBh.* iii, 67 ff. and xii, 7462.

5. *Rajastamasvinaḥ*, i.e. dominated by the three *akuśalamūlāni* ; see note on iii, 39.

6. Law takes *mayi* in *b* as dependent on *vācyam*, but the locative is decidedly unusual and I incline to think it goes with *manyase*, i.e. literally 'if you see in me one who is fit to be told'. I think the text's amendment of P's *mahākulāni*, though probable, is not necessary and I therefore translate the MS.'s reading.

9. Or 'skilled in listening and in speech' in *c*.

10. 'It does indeed befit one who practises the Law in his heart and has an ever benevolent mind towards living beings that you should display in your compassionate nature this kindness to me who am so lacking in steadfastness.

11. That is the reason why I wish especially to speak to you who say what is fitting; for I would not explain this feeling of mine to an unsaintly man of wavering mind, however eloquent he were.

12. Then listen to me. To put it briefly, like a passionate Kinnara wandering on the mountain peaks without his love, I take no pleasure in the practice of the Law without my mistress.

13. I am averse from the joys of the forest life and therefore wish to go home; for I can no more find contentment without her than a king could, when deprived of his sovereign power.'

The disciple points out Nanda's folly.

14. Then the disciple, hearing these words of his, as he lamented in his devotion to his beloved wife, shook his head and said softly to himself:—

15. 'Alas! A silly deer, after escaping from the great danger of the hunter, is deceived by the sound of singing in his longing for the herd and wishes to enter the trap!

16. Verily a bird, who has been caught in a net and released by friendly hands, flits through the forest with its fruit and flowers and of his own accord wishes to enter the cage!

17. Verily a young elephant, after an old elephant has pulled him out of the deep mud of a dangerous river-bed, wishes to enter the crocodile-infested stream again in his thirst for water!

18. Verily a boy, sleeping in a house with a snake in it and roused by a wakeful elder, in his excitement wishes to lay hold of the fierce snake himself!

19. Verily a bird, who has flown out of a forest tree blazing with a great fire, wishes to fly back to it, losing in his longing for his nest all sense of fear!

20. Verily a francolin partridge finds no satisfaction or self-respect and lives miserably in the helpless infatuation of his love, when separated from his mate by fear of the hawk!

21. Verily a wretched greedy dog, void of decency and sense, wishes

10. I translate *hṛdi* for *yadi* in *a* with LVP but am still doubtful if the correct reading has been found: for *sadṛśam* seems to require *yadi* and it may be *yad iyam* in *c* that is corrupt (query *hṛdaye*?).

11. Perhaps *bruvate 'py* in *d* means 'however much he pressed me' ('though he were to question me', Law). But is the reading correct? Possibly *dhruvam apy* in opposition to *calātmane*?

12. Kinnaras are famed for the strength of their love; cf. *Jātaka* IV, 437 ff.

21. Cf. *MBh.* v, 1608.

in the filthiness of his nature to eat again the food he has himself vomited!'

The disciple explains the impropriety of Nanda's resolve.

22. Thus looking reflectively and repeatedly at him, as he was carried away by the sorrows of love, the disciple wished to do him good and spoke these words, excellent but of displeasing import:—

23. 'Seeing that you do not distinguish between pure and impure, that your feelings are set on the objects of sense and that insight is not yours, it is natural that you should find no pleasure in the highest good.

24. For delight in the Law does not fall to the man of unstable nature, whose thoughts are not fixed on peace of mind and on hearing, mastering, memorising, and inwardly digesting the supreme truth.

25. But pleasure in it is indeed felt by the man who sees the evil of material objects and is contented, pure, humble and determined, and whose will is directed to actions leading to holy peace.

26. The covetous man delights in the splendour of wealth and the simpleton delights in the joys of the senses, but the virtuous man delights in peace of mind and contemns material enjoyments, knowing them for what they are.

27. Further it is no more possible for the prudent man of good family and repute who wears the honoured badge to decide to return to his home than it is for a mountain to bend under the force of the wind.

28. The man who would despise the independence derived from reliance on himself and envy him who depends on another's support would, when finding himself in the holy path of tranquillity, long for home life, full of evils though it is.

29. The man who betakes himself to the forest and then would seek again the bondage of home life is like a man who, released from prison, would enter it again when struck down by calamity.

30. The man who, after giving up error, would be in servitude to it again, even he would be the fool who after renouncing his mistress, the source of error, would from inability to master his senses return to her.

Women cause nothing but trouble.

31. For women lead to disaster in the end, like creepers which are poisonous when touched, like caves still full of snakes after being swept, like naked sword-blades held (in the hand).

32. How can it be fitting to serve women, the origin of all sins and dangers, seeing that when they are full of intoxication they cause intoxication to others and when they are free from intoxication they are a source of danger to others?

29. I am not sure of the exact point of *vyasanābhihataḥ* here; possibly 'under the stress of habit'.

31. Or *saṁśritāḥ* in *a* may have an active sense, 'clinging'.

33. Women behave ignobly and treacherously and are skilled in detecting the weaknesses of others, so as to cause kinsman to strive with kinsman, friend with friend.

34. Women are the cause that men of good family become impoverished, that they rashly do ill deeds and that they furiously charge into hostile armies.

35. Women captivate with sweet words and strike with their sharp minds. Honey is on their tongues and the great poison, *hālahala*, in their hearts.

36. The blazing fire can be held, the bodiless wind can be held, the furious snake can be held, but the minds of women cannot be held.

Their heartlessness.

37. Women take no account of beauty, sovereignty, intelligence, race or valour. They strike indiscriminately like rivers infested with crowds of crocodiles.

38. A woman never heeds soft words or coaxing or affection. Even a well-tested woman is fickle, therefore place no more trust in them than in enemies.

39. Women gratify those who give them nothing and are capricious to those who are liberal to them. They are overbearing to those who abase themselves and show themselves easily satisfied to the proud.

40. They are (as masterful) as husbands to the virtuous and (as submissive) as sons to the vicious. They behave greedily to the rich and treat the poor with contempt.

41. Just as a cow if restrained from grazing on one object goes straight to another, so a woman, regardless of a former love, goes elsewhere to take her pleasure.

42. For women may mount their husbands' funeral pyre, they may follow them closely at the risk of their lives, they may be subjected to no restraint, but they never bear love wholeheartedly.

37. For the first line cf. *Manu* ix, 14.

39. Gawroński would read *dṛptatarāś* in *d* which to my mind blunts the point of the verse. For *narmadāḥ* cf. the verse quoted as from the *Kāmaśāstra* (it is not in *KS*) by Mallinātha on *Kumārasambhava* vii, 94.

42. For *b* cf. *MBh.* i, 6146 *paramaṁ nāryāḥ kāryaṁ . . . prāṇān api parityajya yad bhartṛhitam ācaret* and for *yantraṇāḥ* in *c Tantrākhyāyikā* i, 81, *tan mitraṁ yad ayantritam.* I take the verse to be an answer to the argument that there are many well-known instances of women acting with genuine devotion, but Professor Charpentier suggests to me a different rendering based on G's emendations, *muktajīvitān* and *caiva*, that women will mount the funeral pyre (as in the tale of the unchaste woman who mounted her husband's pyre to prove her faithfulness to him and was carried off from it by her lover disguised as a madman), that they will attach themselves even to those condemned to death (as in *Jātaka* no. 318 and the poem of Caura), that they will submit to restraints but in no case is their friendship genuine. This is good but not as pointed as the text's version.

43. Even the women, who treat their husbands as gods and sometimes in some way or other give them pleasure, from fickleness of mind please themselves a thousand times.

44. The daughter of Senajit, it is said, loved an outcast, Kumudvatī the fishes' foe, and Bṛhadrathā a lion, there is nothing women are not capable of.

45. Princes of the Kurus, Haihayas and Vṛṣṇis, Śambara too, though protected by many spells, and the sage Ugratapas Gautama were involved in the dust of passion raised by women.

46. Such is the mind of woman, ungrateful, ignoble, unsteady; how can the wise man set his heart on such capricious creatures?

The impurity of women's bodies.

47. But if you do not see how their hearts are flighty, subtle in intention and working mischief by deceit, do you not see at least how their bodies are impure, verily oozing abodes of evil?

48. Your eyes are clouded with the darkness of ignorance and you do not understand that you are regarding as pure that which, impure in fact, only appears as pure through daily preparation with washing, clothing and adornment.

49. Or if you realise their bodies to be impure, then you are lacking in intelligence; for you are undertaking a sweet-smelling task for the abolition of the filth arising from them.

50. You may say that salves, ointments, garlands, jewels, pearls, gold and clothes are good, but what have they really to do with women? Consider what there is innate in them that is pure.

51. Your Sundarī certainly would not appear fair to you to-day if you were to see her covered with stains and mud, unclothed, with nails, teeth and hair in their natural (unadorned) state.

52. What man capable of feeling disgust would touch a woman, oozing and foul like a broken pot, if it were not for the mere covering of skin no thicker than a fly's wing?

53. If you understand the body of a woman to be a framework of

44. The story of Bṛhadrathā is evidently that of the daughter of the king of Vaṅga told in *Dīpavaṁsa* ix and *Mahāvaṁsa* vi. Bṛhadratha according to Pargiter, op. cit., p. 142, was a king of Aṅga, not Vaṅga, of the Ānava race.

45. The nature of the reference to Śambara suggests that Aśvaghoṣa knew the later form of his legend as told in the *Bhāg. Pur.* according to which his wife, Māyā, an incarnation of Rati, brought up Pradyumna who eventually killed Śambara. The earlier parts of the *MBh.* allude to his being killed by Indra and it is only in the youngest parts that the deed is attributed to Pradyumna or Kṛṣṇa. Ugratapas may be an epithet, not a proper name, as it is often applied to ṛṣis; it appears as a proper name at *Vāyu Pur.* (A.S.S. edn.) xxiii, 144.

47. For *sūkṣma* as applied to women cf. *KS*, v. 4, 9, and vi. 2, 56.

49. Gawroński reads *nanu* in *b*, which does not appear to me absolutely necessary.

50. Or we can take *sahajam* with *kim* as Law does, 'what in these things is innate in women'.

52. For *makṣikāpattra* cf. *Atthasālinī* p. 239.

bones enveloped in skin and yet are forcibly attracted by love, then indeed love is incapable of disgust and lacking in steadfastness.

54. The purity you see in nails, teeth, skin and hair which are impure is nothing but imagination on your part. Do you not see, you simpleton, the real nature and origin of woman?

55. Therefore you should understand women to be especially full of faults of mind and body, and should restrain by the force of insight your hasty mind which yearns to go home.

To break the covenant is blameworthy.

56. For you who know the sacred tradition, who are intelligent and of good family and a proper vessel for the supreme tranquillity, ought not to break the covenant again in any way after having undertaken it.

57. To the man of high family and spirit, who holds his reputation dear and desires respect, death with firmness of soul is preferable to life accompanied by lapse from the Rule.

58. For as the warrior on his chariot is blameworthy, who after girding on his breastplate and taking his bow retires from the battlefield, so too is he blameworthy who, after accepting the badge and entering the mendicant life, allows the steeds of his senses to be carried away by passion.

59. It would be laughable for a man to go begging who wears beautiful ornaments, clothes and garlands, holds a bow and flaunts a gorgeous nodding headdress; so too is it laughable for one, who has abandoned all outward ornament and lives on others' alms, to be filled again with desire and to long to return to the pleasures of his home life.

60. Just as a boar, if fed on the best of food and provided with even the best of bedding, would hasten on release to his familiar midden, so the man who is dominated by the thirst of passion, would leave the tranquil forest and long for his home, though, while hearing of the highest good, he had tasted the excellent pleasure of religious peace.

61. As the torch, held in the hand, burns it when its flames are fanned by the wind, as the snake, swift to wrath, bites when trodden on, as the tiger, though caught young and kept in the house, is still given to killing, so too association with women leads to disaster in many ways.

62. Recognising then these faults to be inherent in the minds and bodies of women, understanding the pleasures of love to pass away as the water of a river and to lead to sin and grief, and seeing the world to be devoid of strength like an unbaked pot and delivered over to death, form an unequalled determination for the attainment of salvation and desist from yearning.'

55. *Pratisaṁkhyāna* has probably the same sense as *pratisaṁkhyā* in the technical term *pratisaṁkhyānirodha* ('By *pratisaṁkhyāna* or *pratisaṁkhyā* is understood a certain *prajñā*, the pure *prajñā*, the understanding of the Truths', *AK*, I, 9). Cf. note on xv, 4 below.

CANTO IX

THE DENUNCIATION OF CONCEIT

Nanda pays no heed.

1. But, although addressed in this fashion by the mendicant, Nanda failed to reach equanimity about his mistress; for still obsessed with thoughts of her, he did not hear the other's speech, as if he were unconscious.

2. For as the sick man at the point of death does not take in the words of the doctor who wishes to heal him, so in the intoxication of his strength, beauty and youth he did not take in his friendly advice.

3. No need is there for wonder if, when the self is wrapped in darkness, the mind is overcome by a sinful disposition to passion; for man's disposition to sin only ceases to be active when his mental darkness becomes clear and is dissipated.

4. Then seeing Nanda thus carried away by his strength, beauty and youth and determined to go home, the disciple reproved him to bring him to peace of mind :—

The disciple proves that strength is transitory.

5. 'I am aware, as you are aware, of your strength, beauty and young manhood, but you do not understand, as I understand, these three to be transitory.

6. You deem your strength to be permanent; for you do not realise that the body is the abode of disease, subject to old age, frail as the foam on the river and insecure as a tree on the bank of a stream.

7. Why have you this conceit of your strength, when the body is seen to come to grief through too little or too much addiction to the actions of eating, drinking, sitting and walking?

8. Seeing that the world is subject to attack from calamities such as cold, heat, disease, old age, hunger etc., like the water in the hot season from the rays of the sun, what are you thinking about, you who are so proud of your strength, as you pass to decay?

9. Why do you entertain such imaginations about your strength,

Mada, which I translate 'conceit' in the title, implies the intoxication caused by the illusions which a man cherishes about himself and goes much beyond conceit in connotation; cf. *AK*, I, 176.

3. For *pāpman* cf. *Manu*, vi, 85.

5. LVP would read *idaṁ tat* in *c* but the reference is to Nanda's strength, &c., and *te* or *tava* is required somewhere in the verse. Gawroński suggests *yathāvabudhye* in *d* which I would accept.

8. We should retain P's *upanīyate* which is authenticated by both Sanskrit and Pali Buddhist works, e.g. *Dhammapada* 237, *Saṁyutta* I, 55 (= *Jātaka* IV, 398), *Petavatthu* iv. 1, 10, and *AKV*, iii, p. 145, ll. 29–30. I incline to think *vrajat*, to agree with *jagat*, should be substituted in *d* for *vrajan*.

9. Candrakīrti glosses *vihanyate* at *MK*, 490, l. 10, by *vividhair abhūtaiḥ parikalpair hanyate*.

when your body is merely a compound of skin, bone, flesh and blood, is subject to the need of food, ever ailing and continually in want of remedies?

10. The man who should in his eagerness for the objects of the senses deem himself strong, when all that he has is this worthless corporeal aggregate, is like a man who should set out to cross the heaving ocean in an unfired clay pot.

11. But I consider this body to be even more fragile than an unfired clay pot; for a pot if kept carefully will last a long time, whereas this aggregate must break up, however well tended.

12. Seeing that the elements, water, earth, wind and fire coalescing in a body, ever war together like vicious snakes and lead to disaster, disease is part of your very nature; how then can you conclude you have strength?

13. Snakes can be lulled by charms, but the elements are not amenable to them. Snakes only bite at times, and then not everyone, but the elements do harm to everyone at all times.

14. For this body, though cherished for a long time with actions such as lying, sitting, drinking and eating, will not forgive a single trespass; it becomes diseased therefrom as a venomous snake grows angry when stepped on.

15. Since the man who feels cold goes to a fire, the man who is afflicted with heat seeks the cool, the hungry man food, the thirsty man water, where does strength come in? What is it? How is it? Whose is it?

16. Therefore recognise the body to be diseased and do not consider yourself to be possessed of strength. The world is without substance or certainty and goes to an evil end; since this world is transitory, strength is not durable.

17. Where is the strength of the son of Kṛtavīrya, the thousand-armed Arjuna, who boasted of his strength? The Bhārgava seer lopped off his arms in battle, as the levin brand lops the huge peaks of a mountain.

18. Where is the strength of Kṛṣṇa who slew Kaṁsa and broke the jaw of the lord of horses? Jaras struck him down with a single arrow, just as old age strikes down in due course beauty however great.

12. Cf. 'We have seen that the body is a box containing four poisonous snakes' in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* attributed to Nāgārjuna, as translated by Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rajagṛha*, p. 57, and note thereon. So also *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra* (Kyoto 1931), vi, 11, of the elements in the body, *paras-pareṇaiva sadā viruddhā yathaiva āśīviṣa eka-veśmani.* The translation of *rogavidho* is rather forced and a locative would be better, *rogavidhe* (sc. *śarīre*) or C's *rogavidhau.*

18. For the breaking of Keśin's jaw cf. *Bhāg. Pur.* x. 37, 6–7, and *Harivaṁśa*, 4308 ff.

Strength is transitory (*contd.*).

19. Where is the strength of Namuci, the son of Diti, who caused the immortals to rage as he shone in the battle array? Him Vāsava slew in single combat with a piece of foam, though he opposed him furious as death.

20. And where has the strength of the Kurus gone? They blazed in the fight with energy and fury, yet they lost their lives and were turned to ashes, like fires heaped up with fuel in a sacrifice.

21. Therefore, knowing that the strength of those mighty ones who boasted of their heroism and strength was brought low, and seeing the world to be a prey to old age and death, do not fancy yourself strong.

22. Whether you think your physical strength great or the reverse, it is against your senses that you should wage war. If you conquer them, your strength is truly great: if you are defeated, your strength is no strength.

23. For men may overcome foes, who are well provided with horses, chariots and elephants, yet they are not counted such heroes as the wise men who overcome the six restless senses.

Beauty and youth are equally transitory.

24. And similarly your idea that you have beauty is not wise, and you should take this to heart; where is now the beauty, where the beautiful bodies of Gada, Śāmba and Sāraṇa?

25. Just as it is through nature alone that the peacock displays the most excellent beauty of its glorious outspread tail, so if you are beautiful at all, you only possess that beauty apart from the excellence due to the toilet of the body.

26. Tell me, O beautiful one, what the body would look like if what is revolting in it were not covered with a garment, if it were not regularly washed, or if it did not receive enhancement from decoration.

27. Dam up your mind like the torrent of a mountain stream, since it turns to your home, in your perception of the fresh youth that is yours, to obtain the objects of the senses; for youth goes swiftly never to return.

28. The seasons pass and come round again; the moon wanes and waxes again; but, once they have passed away, neither the water of a river nor the youth of a man returns.

29. When you see your face faded with white moustache, covered with wrinkles, with its brilliance gone, teeth broken and eyebrows with their curve lost, then you will find yourself overcome by old age and your intoxication will vanish.

24. I think there can be no doubt that we should read *Śāmbasya* for *Sāmyasya*. The downfall of the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas is described in *MBh.* xvi.

28. For *cd* cf. *L'Udānavarga Sanskrit*, i, 15 and 32.

30. A man may give himself up for many nights and dawns to the finest of intoxicating liquors yet at long last he returns to sobriety, but no man who is intoxicated with his strength, youth and beauty becomes disillusioned till he reaches old age.

31. As a sugar-cane stalk is thrown on the ground to be dried for burning after all the juice has been extracted by pressing, so the body, pressed in the mill of old age and with its vital force drained away, awaits the funeral pyre.

32. For as a saw, worked by two men, cuts a lofty tree into many pieces, so old age, ever brought nearer by the procession of day and night, brings about the fall of the exalted inhabitants of this world.

33. There is no foe of corporeal beings to equal old age, the thief of memory, the conqueror of beauty, the destroyer of pleasure, the robber of speech, hearing and eyesight, the source of weariness, the slayer of might and heroism.

34. Do not give way to ignoble pride, thinking 'I am beautiful, strong or young', and recognise that this great danger of the world known as old age but points the way to death.

The body is not identical with the individual.

35. Sinful delusion about the body that 'it is I, it is mine', obsesses your passion-ridden thoughts; cast off its stranglehold. If you were to act thus, tranquillity would be yours; for one incurs danger by thinking 'this is I' or 'this is mine'.

36. Since no one has dominion over the body which is subject to manifold plagues, how can it be proper to recognise that abode of calamities called 'the body' as identical with you or as yours?

37. The man who would be so wrong-headed as to delight in the impure, transitory body, composed as it is of warring elements, is like a man who would delight in an ever unclean, dilapidated hovel, infested with snakes and always in need of repair.

38. Just as a bad king takes taxes in full from his subjects by force and yet neglects their protection, so too the body accepts the provision of clothes etc. in full and yet is not compliant.

39. Just as grass grows on the earth without labour on the part of the cultivator but rice only with labour, so too sorrows arrive without effort on our part but pleasure can only be obtained by effort and not always then.

30. Gawroński suggests *niśāvivāse sucirād* in *b*, which may well be right. Dr. L. D. Barnett refers me to a similar use of *mad* with *vi* at *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* ii, 22; he would not accept the sense given to it there by the *PW* s.v. In the earlier language *vi* is in fact often used to reverse the meaning of a verb.

35. The readings of this verse are doubtful, though the general sense is clear; in *a* and *b* I translate LVP's suggestion *raktacetasaḥ śarīrasaṁjñe*. For *graha* cf. *MK*, xvi, 9 and commentary thereon and for *śāmyatā* *MBh*. v, 4330.

Sensory enjoyments do not give real happiness.

40. And there is no pleasure in the highest sense of the word for man, who has to drag about an unstable and afflicted body. For he determines pleasure to arise, when he follows remedies for suffering and when only slight suffering is present.

41. Just as the advent of the smallest suffering tortures a man so that he takes no account of the longed for pleasure, however choice, so too on the other hand a man never so experiences any pleasure as to disregard suffering that has come on him.

42. Again, if, because you enjoy the results, you fail to understand that the body is such, afflicted by much suffering and ephemeral, still you should hold back your restless mind from those enjoyments with the tethering-ropes of self-restraint as you would a cow that was eager to crop the corn.

43. For no one can ever have enough of the enjoyments of the passions, as a blazing fire is never satiated with oblations; the more prolonged the indulgence in the pleasures of the passions, the more does longing for the objects of the senses grow.

44. And as a man afflicted by leprosy does not obtain relief by applying heat, so too he who with uncontrolled senses follows after the objects of the senses does not obtain tranquillity by means of the enjoyments of the passions.

45. For to find delight in the body, that vessel of much suffering, out of delusion and a desire for the objects of the senses would be like (purposely) becoming ill and avoiding the course capable of curing it out of a desire for the pleasure of physic.

46. He who desires the ill of another is said to be his enemy because of that act; ought not therefore the objects of the senses, the sole root of all ills, to be avoided like base enemies ?

47. Murderous enemies in this world may come round in time to friendship with a man, but both in this world and hereafter the passions are causes of suffering only and do not enure to anyone's advantage.

48. Just as eating a *kimpāka* fruit leads to death not to nourishment, though its taste, colour and fragrance be good, so application to the objects of the senses leads the man of unbalanced mind to disaster, not to prosperity.

42. *Dravat* should perhaps be taken as compounded with *phalebhyo* in the sense of 'fleeting', giving the cue for the next verse.

43. The fivefold *kāma* again, not sexual passion only.

44. *Pratāpanān* in *b* is an unnecessary amendment based on a misunderstanding of the text; read *pratāpayan* with L. For the sense cf. *Majjhima* I, 506–7.

45. I am not sure of the sense of *tatkṣamam*; *tatkṣayam* which Law translates against C's corrigenda is perhaps better.

49. Therefore with sinless soul recognise this advice to be salutary as bound up with the beginning of the Law of Salvation and follow my opinion which is approved by the wise. Or else speak out and tell me your intention.'

Nanda still recalcitrant.

50. Though the disciple, learned in the holy tradition, spoke much to him in this way for his weal, yet Nanda did not come to himself or obtain relief; for his feelings were blinded by intoxication like an elephant in full rut by ichor.

The disciple informs the Buddha.

51. Then the mendicant, convinced that Nanda was irresolute in feeling and set on the pleasures of his home, not on the Law, reported the matter to the Buddha, the Knower of the Truth, Who was skilled in examining the dispositions, tendencies and feelings of all beings.

49. Or *ādi* in *b* may simply mean 'etc.'.

51. Knowledge of the dispositions and tendencies of all beings is one of the Buddha's ten forces (*AK*, V, 70).

CANTO X

THE VISION OF PARADISE

The Buddha summons Nanda,

1. When the Sage heard that Nanda had lost his constancy in his unhappiness and was proposing to break his holy vow and to go to his palace to see his wife, He summoned him in His desire to rescue him.

2. Nanda arrived there, stumbling in mind and having failed to take the path of Salvation, and on the Noble-minded One's questioning him, he bent with shame and told his resolution to Him Who was full of self-respect and skilled in resolution.

3. Then the Blessed One, seeing Nanda to be wandering in the darkness which is called 'wife', grasped his hand and flew up into the sky to rescue him, like a cormorant which has caught a fish in the water and, wishing to bring it up, comes to the surface.

4. They shone in the clear sky with the sheen of gold and earth-coloured robes like a pair of sheldrakes rising out of a lake with wings outstretched in mutual embrace.

and takes him to Mount Himavat.

5. Quickly they came to Mount Himavat, supremely fragrant with deodars, possessing many rivers, lakes and torrents, full of gold ore and of divine seers.

6. Arriving there they stood, as on an island of the unsupported sky, on that holy mountain of the dwellingless end of the world, which was frequented by Cāraṇas and Siddhas and was clad with the smoke of oblations.

7. While the Sage stood there with unstirred senses, Nanda looked

In the title *nidarśana* means 'illustration', 'example', as well as 'vision'.

2. Or perhaps 'Who knew the resolutions (of others)'.

3. The reading in *d* is quite uncertain; to take *sādhu* as 'jeweller' seems to me impossible, the earliest occurrence of the word in this sense, which in the form *sāhu*, a title of goldsmiths, etc., is well-known in the modern vernaculars, being in the *Tantrākhyāyikā*, whose date is far from early. Reading *maṇim* with the text, one might take it as equivalent to *maṇikam* 'waterpot', for which there is no certain authority. Prof. Charpentier suggests to me *maṇiṁ jale magna*, excellent sense but rather far from the MSS. Law, reading *malam* with C, translates 'just as a sādhu cleanses a stain in the water'. As a stopgap but with no deep belief in its correctness, I translate *mīnaṁ jale madgur*, as all the words in the sentence fit the comparison.

4. Gawroński dislikes *°prakīrṇāv* in *d* and suggests *°vitīrṇāv* or *sarovatīrṇāv*, but it is much more in Aśvaghoṣa's style to repeat *kīrṇa* and I see no difficulty in translating either as above, for which cf. *PW*, 3. *kar*, *pra* 2), or as 'hovering over' (lit. 'scattered over').

5. Or 'full of gold and minerals'.

6. For *nirāśraya* as applied to the sky cf. *HC*, ch. viii, p. 76, l. 31, *viyanmayīm iva niravalambanatayā*.

round him in amaze at the rifts and glades and forest-dwellers, the ornaments and protectors respectively of the mountain.

Description of the mountain.

8. For a peacock lying there with outspread tail on the white far-extending peak seemed like a bracelet of beryl on the arm of Bala of the long stout arms.

9. A lion stood out, with his shoulder turned the colour of safflower from contact with the red arsenic and other ores, like a shattered silver brooch of . . . inlaid with threads of refined gold.

10. A tiger, moving with stealthy gait as if stretched with fatigue and curling his tail widdershins, appeared as he went to drink at a mountain stream like a man going down to offer water to the Pitṛs (with the sacred thread on his right shoulder).

11. On the slope of the mountain with its waving *kadamba* trees a yak was entangled in a hanging tree and could not cut off his tail which was caught in it, just as a man of noble conduct cannot give up a hereditary friendship.

12. Troops of Kirātas, golden in colour and with limbs striped with gleaming peacocks' gall, looked like tigers charging as they emerged from the caves, or as if vomited out by the mountain.

13. Swarms of Kinnarīs, very beautiful with ravishing hips, breasts and waists, who lived in the ravines, appeared on all sides like creepers tressed with flowers.

14. Monkeys wandered along the mountains, keeping the deodars in

9. Possibly *pītāvṛtāṁso* in *b*. On further reflection I do not think it possible to restore the last word of the verse correctly and this necessarily leaves the point of the comparison uncertain. For instance, the reference might be to Kṛṣṇa, who is *pītavāsas*, to correspond to Balarāma, in verse 8 (i.e. *ivācyutasya* ?). Or Māgha, who in canto xiv of the *Śiśupālavadha* seems to have the description of Śuddhodana in canto ii above in mind, may be pointing to this passage in canto xvii, where verse 4 depends for its point on Balarāma's fairness. Verse 3 refers to Gada with a play on *aṅgada* and verse 5 to Ulmuka, one of whom might have been the original name here.

12. In *b* I would retain P's *mayūrapitto°* on the strength of *HC*, ch. viii, p. 70, l. 25, *pracuramayūrapittapattralatācitritatvaci* in the description of a Śabara. Bāṇa lived on the confines of what is still the aboriginal country and must have described the Śabara from his own experience. I do not know if *mayūrapitta* means a preparation made from the peacock's gall or is the name of a plant from whose juice colouring matter is made. This sense suits the comparison very well, if 'peacocks' gall' was black in colour like a tiger's stripes. So *MBh.* i, 5249, describes Naiṣādi as *kṛṣṇamaladigdhāṅgam*. Peacocks' bones are a regular ingredient in love magic according to *KS*, vii. 1. At the same time there is much to be said for amending to *mayūrapiccho°* or *°pattro°*; for there are many references to the use of peacocks' feathers in bodily decoration, e.g. *Kirātārjunīya* xii, 41 of Śiva and *MBh.* iv, 185 of Durgā. R. B. Sarat Chandra Roy, the leading authority on the aboriginals of Chota Nagpur, informs me that it is still the custom there to use peacocks' feathers for decoration and that he knows nothing in use that corresponds to *mayūrapitta*. For the golden colour of Kirātas cf. *AKV*, iii, p. 203, l. 20.

perpetual commotion, and finding they bore no fruit departed from them, as from rich men whose favour is empty of gifts.

The Buddha points out a she-monkey for comparison with Sundarī,

15. The Sage saw in that herd a female monkey, with one eye gone and its face red as if lac had been pressed on it, which was playing the laggard, and He said to Nanda :—

16. 'Which, Nanda, in your eyes is the more entrancing in beauty and gesture, this one-eyed monkey or the person on whom you have set your affections?'

17. Thus addressed by the Blessed One, Nanda smiled a little and said, 'What comparison can there be, Lord, between Thy sister-in-law, the finest of women, and this tree-tormenting monkey?'

and takes Nanda to Indra's Paradise.

18. Then the Sage, hearing his reply, looked for some other incentive and, supporting Nanda as before, went to the pleasure grove of the royal bearer of the thunderbolt.

Its description.

19. There some trees at every moment bear the appearance of their own season, while others exhibit the splendid glory of all six seasons in their entirety.

20. Some bear sweet-smelling noble garlands and wreaths of various kinds, ready for use, and posies so fitted for the ears that they seemed to rival earrings.

21. There are trees there which look like candelabra by flowering with red lotuses and others appear to have wide-open eyes, as they put forth full-blown blue lotuses.

22. There trees bear as fruit diaphanous clothes, without thread or interstices, shot with many colours, or white illumined with lines of gold.

23. Others bear ornaments of the kinds suited for Paradise, such as ropes of pearls, jewels, fine earrings, magnificent armlets and anklets.

24. And the lotus ponds, whose surfaces are ever unruffled, produce golden lotuses with stems of beryl and shoots and stamens of diamond, delightful to the touch and fragrant to the smell.

25. There the trees, gorgeous with gold and gems, assist the gods in their pastimes by bearing as fruit all kinds of musical instruments, of skin and string, hollow and solid.

26. There the *Pārijāta* tree rises shining with all the qualities of majesty, and plays the king over the *mandāra* trees and other trees which are laden with the bloom of day-waterlilies and red lotuses.

15. *Alasāyamānām* probably suggests a certain resemblance between the monkey's actions and those of a young woman languishing with love.

21. I take *kamalāni* as governed by *phullāḥ*, an unusual construction, but the alternative of taking *bhānti* to mean 'produce', as suggested in the note to the text, is too improbable. *Utpala* is the standard comparison for an eye.

27. Such are the trees that grow there, ever attentive to provide enjoyment for the dwellers in heaven, where the soil of the celestial fields is cultivated by the unwearying ploughs of asceticism and discipline.

28. There birds have beaks of the hue of red arsenic, eyes like crystal, dark brown wings tipped with scarlet and feet of the colour of red madder and half white.

29. Other birds called *śiñjirikas* have brilliant golden wings and clear eyes blue as beryl and roam about, charming the mind and the ear with their songs.

30. Birds adorned with feathers red at the tips, golden yellow in the middle and the colour of beryl at the ends wander about there.

31. Other birds called *rociṣṇus* flit here and there, with glowing beaks which give them as it were the colour of a blazing fire, attracting the gaze with their beauty and charming the Apsarases with their sweet songs.

32. There those who have earned merit enjoy themselves, doing as they wish, ever joyful, free from affliction and grief, ever young, shining with their own light and having a lofty, middle or low station according to their deeds.

The Apsarases.

33. There the amorous Apsarases ravish the weary minds of the ascetics who had determined to purchase Paradise by first paying the price in austerities.

34. And Nanda, seeing that world to be in perpetual feast and free from exhaustion, drowsiness, disgust, grief or disease, deemed the world of men to be no better than a cemetery as being subject to old age and death and ever in distress.

35. And Nanda beheld the grove of Indra on all sides with eyes staring with surprise; and the Apsarases, full of joy and eyeing each other haughtily, came round him.

36. They were ever young, ever busied in love alone and enjoyed jointly by those who have earned merit; celestial beings, union with them was no sin. In them centred the reward of austerities of the divine world.

37. Some of them sang softly and proudly, some pulled lotuses to

29. I cannot find elsewhere any birds called *śiñjirika* or *rociṣṇu* (verse 31).

30. *Vallarī* can hardly mean 'creeper' here but I know no other instance of its use in the sense 'feather'. Verse 13 above suggests by the curious epithet *puṣpotkaca* that Aśvaghoṣa intends *vallarī* to have there the secondary meaning of 'tresses of hair', as in the known phrase *alakavallarī*.

32. For *nirartayo* cf. *CII*, III, p. 220, l. 2, *prajānām arttiharaḥ* and for *svayamprabhāḥ* *MBh.* iii, 1745–6.

36. Possibly this verse should follow verse 33.

37. Or *udāttam* might mean 'on a high note'.

pieces for sport; others again danced because of their pleasure in each other with varied gesticulations, their pearl necklaces thrown into disorder by their breasts.

38. The faces of some with dangling earrings peeped from out of the forest glades, as lotus flowers, shaken by *kāraṇḍava* birds, peep out from the scattered leaves of the plants.

39. As Nanda saw them come out from the forest like lightning banners from a cloud, his body trembled with passion like moonlight trembling on rippling water.

Nanda's passion is inflamed by the Apsarases.

40. Then he followed their celestial forms and graceful movements with his mind and with eyes full of excitement as if thirst for their embraces had engendered passion in him.

41. He longed to quench that thirst with the draught of the Apsarases, for he was afflicted by the despair which held him of possessing them. Confused with desire, that chariot of the mind, whose steeds are the restless senses, he could not control himself.

42. For just as a man makes dirty clothes dirtier by putting soda on them not to increase but to remove the dirt, so the Sage caused greater passion to him (in order to abolish it).

43. And as a physician who wishes to remove diseases of the body will set to work to cause it still greater pain, so the Sage in order to stamp out his passion led him into still greater passion.

44. Just as the brilliance of the rising sun eclipses the light of a candle in the darkness, so the glory of the Apsarases renders invisible the lustre of women in the world of men.

45. Great beauty eclipses minute beauty, a great noise drowns a little noise, severe pain destroys a faint pain. Every great cause leads to the destruction of a (similar) small one.

46. And by the power of the Sage Nanda was able to bear that sight which others could not have borne; for the glory of the Apsarases' beauty

38. It is perhaps hardly necessary to amend *kādambavighaṭṭitāni* as the Indian lexica give *kāraṇḍava* and *kādamba* as synonyms. But if they are right in doing so, *kādamba* can hardly mean a 'black goose' by which only the combduck, the drake of which is as large as a small goose and has a black back, could be meant; for so large a bird could not settle on a lotus as the *kāraṇḍava* does (see iv, 23 above and *B.* v, 53). It would have to mean something more like the cotton teal or one of the other small birds which may be seen scuttling over the leaves on an Indian lake.

41. Gawroński, not realising that *viklava* is well authenticated as a substantive (see *PW*), would amend in *b* to *'dhiṣṭhitaviklavāsthaḥ*. The metaphor in the second line goes back at least to *Kaṭha Up.* iii, 3 and 4, and constantly recurs.

42. Cf. *Atthasālinī*, p. 243.

44. LVP suggests *yathā prabhāte* in *a*, which is not so good palaeographically as the text and misses the antithesis that just as women shine in this world and the Apsarases in Paradise, so the candle shines in darkness and the sun by day.

is such that it would burn up the mind of one who was weak from not having conquered passion.

47. Then the Sage, Himself free from passion, deemed that Nanda's passion had been excited by them and that he had turned away from love of his wife, and spoke to him thus in order to combat passion with passion:—

48. 'Look at these celestial women and, considering them well, answer me truly and precisely. How do their beauty and accomplishments compare with those of the person on whom you have set your mind?'

49. Then fixing his gaze on the Apsarases, with the fire of passion blazing in his heart and his feelings dominated by love, Nanda raised his hands in supplication and spoke falteringly thus:—

Nanda forgets his wife and asks the Buddha for help in obtaining the Apsarases.

50. 'Thy sister-in-law appears, Lord, as wretched in comparison with the beautiful Apsarases as she was superior to the one-eyed she-monkey.

51. For just as no other woman before moved me when I looked at my wife, so now I have no feeling for her when I look at their beauty.

52. Just as a man who is warmed by a little heat would be burnt by a great conflagration, so I who was but warmed previously by a feeble passion am now burnt up by this blaze of passion.

53. Cast on me therefore the water of Thy voice lest I be burnt up like the god of the fish-banner. For the fire of passion is about to consume me to-day just as a forest fire arises to consume the dry grass with the tree-tops.

54. Be merciful to me, I am sinking, rescue me, there is no firmness left in me, O Sage, Who art as firm as the earth. I shall yield up my life, O Thou Whose mind is freed, if Thou dost not grant me, who am dying, the elixir of Thy speech.

55. For I am stricken to the heart by the snake of love, whose coils are calamity, whose gaze is destruction, whose teeth are madness and whose fiery venom is mental darkness; therefore provide me with the antidote, O Great Physician.

56. For no man bitten by that viper of love remains active in himself; for instance, the mind of Vodhyu, who was unshakeable by nature, was deluded and wise Śantanu became weak.

48. Gawroński, comparing verse 16 above, would read *varaṁ* for *kathaṁ* in *c*, but I understand the latter as merely asking a question, a well-established use, literally, 'are these approved or is that person ...?'.

53. I translate *ivābjaketuḥ* in *b* as I cannot make anything out of *ivābjaśatruḥ*.

56. I take *anavasthita* as meaning 'not quiet', 'lively'; cf. *Raghuvaṁśa* xix, 31. The alternative, comparing xviii, 52, is to take it as meaning 'unconditioned', 'independent'. The point is that snakebite causes *moha*, 'torpor', and love causes *moha*, 'delusion'.

57. I take my refuge in Thee, the preeminent Refuge. Do Thou so act for me who implore Thee that I may not wander from birth to birth but may come into possession of that abode which is the destruction of misfortune.'

The Buddha explains the method of gaining the Apsarases.

58. Then spoke Gautama, the Moon of great seers, Himself free from mental darkness and dispeller of the mental darkness of the world, desiring to dispel the darkness in Nanda's heart, just as the moon, the dispeller of darkness, dispels the darkness that rises by night:—

59. 'Listen to Me, embrace steadfastness of mind, shake off agitation, restrain your hearing and feelings. If you desire these women, practice strenuous austerities in this life in order to pay the fee for them.

60. For they are not to be gained by force or service or gifts or handsomeness of person; they are indeed only to be obtained by following the Law. If you find pleasure in them, practise the Law intently.

61. Residence here in heaven with the gods, these lovely groves and unaging women are the reward of your own good actions. No other can give this to you, nor can it be obtained without an efficient cause.

62. For a man on earth may obtain women by the use of his weapons or by other labours or else he may not. But it is certain that these women in heaven belong to the man who has acquired merit by practice of the Law.

63. Therefore if you desire to obtain the Apsarases, abide diligently and zealously in the observances, and I stand surety that, should you hold firmly to your vow, union with them will certainly be yours.'

Return to earth.

64. On this he agreed, and with determination he placed the firmest reliance on the Supreme Sage. Then the Sage, holding him and flying down like the wind from the sky, returned to the earth.

60. C's note of L's reading in *a* is incorrect, except that the lower portion of the second *nna* is rubbed so that it might easily be mistaken for *tra*. The verse is closely parallel in form with *Kaṭha Up.* ii, 23, which suggests that *śakyā* here is possibly a corruption of *labhyā*, *la* and *śa* being very liable to interchange and the second syllable in L being much rewritten.

64. *Paramam iti* in *a* properly means 'yes', but the sequel in the next two cantos suggests that it is also implied here that Nanda held Paradise to be the *summum bonum*. Law in fact accepts the latter sense.

CANTO XI

THE DRAWBACKS OF PARADISE

1. Then Nanda tethered his fickle rebellious mind to the post of self-control, after seeing those women who wander in the grove of Nandana.

Nanda's austerities.

2. Not relishing the taste of renunciation and without enjoyment like a faded lotus without sap, he practised the Law with the Apsarases firmly fixed in his heart.

3. Thus it was under the influence of the objects of the senses that from having had restless senses with his beloved as the sole province of his senses he now became controlled in his senses.

4. Skilled in the practice of love but bewildered in mendicant's practices, he devoted himself with the support of the supreme Master to the practice of the religious life.

5. By means of the restraint that produces tranquillity he became tranquil and through the sharp pangs of love he withered, just as, when fire and water come together, the one is quenched, the other dried up.

6. That, though naturally beautiful, he became highly disfigured, was due as much to yearning for the Apsarases as to long-enduring self-control.

7. So he who had been so fond of his wife seemed, even when she was mentioned, to remain free from passion and was subject neither to joy nor to agitation.

8. Ānanda, learning that Nanda had settled down and turned away from passion for his wife, came to him and said affectionately :—

Ānanda questions him.

9. 'Ah! You have undertaken a task worthy of your learning and high birth in that you are settled at ease and with senses subdued in abstinence.

10. It can be no petty motive that has produced this understanding in one who was addicted to love, full of passion and devoted to the objects of the senses.

1. *Niyama* has not here the technical meaning which later speculation gave it (*AK*, IV, 180, n. 6); one might translate it 'abstinence' here.

2. *Naiṣkramya* and the Pali equivalent *nekkhamma* are almost invariably to be found opposed to *kāma*, as if *naiṣkramya* were a false Sanskritisation of a Prakrit word formed from *naiṣkāmya*. *Aniṣṭanaiṣkramyaraso* could also be translated, 'tasting the discomfort of renunciation'.

4. The point is that the chief ingredient of *brahmacarya* is chastity.

5. I take *saṁvṛta* as equivalent to *saṁvara*; LVP would amend to *sa vṛttena* which is quite good, but against the indications in L. If one is to amend, why not *saṁvareṇa*, the word particularly applicable to the senses?

10. *Saṁvid* may possibly here be equivalent to *nirveda*, cf. note on xiii, 22.

Ānanda questions Nanda, 'Is he really trying to earn the Apsarases?'

11. A minor illness is averted with little trouble but a great one can only be cured by great efforts and not even always then.

12. Your disease was grave and difficult to master in that it was of the mind; if it has really left you, you have thoroughly acquired steadfastness.

13. Hard it is for an irreligious man to do good, for a proud man to be humble, for a covetous man to be greatly generous and for a man full of passion to carry out the observance of chastity.

14. But I have one doubt with regard to the constancy of your self-control and, if you think fit to tell me, I should like to be reassured about it.

15. Words spoken out honestly should not be taken amiss. The good man does not consider harsh what, though harsh in expression, is uttered with a pure intention.

16. For unpleasant and advantageous speech proceeds from affection, and pleasant speech, which is not advantageous, from a lack of it; but it is as hard to obtain speech that is both pleasant and advantageous as it is a medicine that is effective and tastes sweet.

17. Among the good the conduct of a friend is marked by confidence, consideration of the other's interest, participation in joy and sorrow, forbearance and affection.

18. So my wish to speak to you springs from affection and not from a wish to hurt you; for I wish to speak of your highest good, to which I ought not to be indifferent.

19. It is said you follow the Law in order to obtain the Apsarases as your wages. Is this true? Oh! Such conduct would be laughable.

20. If this really is correct, I shall explain its remedy to you, or if it is only the talk of gossip, I shall then explain the true state of affairs.'

21. Then being stricken to the heart by him although in gentle fashion, Nanda meditated and, heaving a deep sigh, became somewhat downcast.

22. On this Ānanda, taking note of his change of countenance which betrayed the motions of his mind, spoke to him words which were disagreeable but would have a pleasant conclusion for him :—

23. 'From your demeanour I understand why you follow the Law and knowing that, I am moved to laughter and compassion at the same time.

14. For *anunaya* here cf. *B.* xi, 6.

18. LVP would read *yat tvāṁ* for *yato* in *d*, comparing *B.* iv, 65 ; I translate *tac chreyo . . . yat te.*

20. The standard Buddhist definition of *auddhatya* is *cittasya vyupaśama*, 'excitement of mind'; here it implies the thrill that some minds experience in gossip.

24. You are striving to assume self-control for the sake of passion; it is as if a man were to carry about a heavy stone on his shoulder to sit down on.

Ānanda points out the absurdity of Nanda's aim.

25. Just as a savage ram draws back in order to charge, so you are following the holy life for an object which is contrary to it.

26. As merchants wish to buy merchandise for the sake of profit, so you practise the Law, not for tranquillity, but to obtain something to barter.

27. As a husbandman sows seed according to the particular crop he wants, so you have abandoned the objects of the senses out of greed for such objects.

28. As a man might wish for disease in order to secure the pleasure to be derived from remedies, so you seek suffering out of a longing for the objects of the senses.

29. As a man who looks for honey overlooks the precipice, so you see the Apsarases but not the fall that will ensue at the end.

30. Though you carry out your vow with your body, your heart is blazing with the fire of love. What kind of chastity is this of yours, when your mind is given to its opposite?

31. And seeing that in the course of the cycle of existence you have obtained the Apsarases hundreds of times only to lose them again, why this yearning for them?

32. A fire can never be satiated with fuel, or the salt sea with water, or the man who is full of desires with love. Love therefore does not lead to appeasement.

Love is not true happiness.

33. And without appeasement there cannot be tranquillity, without tranquillity pleasure, without pleasure joy or without joy delight.

34. If you desire true delight, then apply your mind to the delight of the inner self; for there is no delight like that, being as it is both tranquil and free from sin.

25. On further reflection I see no reason for rejecting L's *dṛpto*, as the Chinese version is not clear enough to justify amendment. It is to be found at p. 14 of the commentary of Vasu, who is not necessarily the same as Vasubandhu (correct note in text accordingly), on Āryadeva's *Śataśāstra* as translated by G. Tucci, *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic* (G.O.S. XLIX). Cf. also *Jātaka* III, 83, and Candrakīrti's commentary on *Cat.* p. 471, l. 19.

27. The parallel is not quite clear because of the difference of the verbs; it is implied that a cultivator abandons his seeds by sowing them and reaps a crop of grain of the same kind in consequence.

29. I have noted this simile nine times in the *MBh.*; cf. especially v, 2472–5, and xii, 11524.

33. Gawroński holds that this verse is an imitation of *Bhagavadgītā* ii, 66, and that it accordingly fixes a lower limit for the date of that work. But unfortunately for the argument this verse of the *Gītā* has now come under suspicion as an interpolation (see F. O. Schrader, *The Kashmir Recension of the Bhagavadgītā*, Stuttgart, 1930, p. 11).

35. In it you have no need of music, women or ornaments; you can enjoy that delight alone and wherever you will.

36. As long as desires remain, the mind suffers extremely; therefore abolish desire. For desire and suffering come into existence together and vanish together.

37. For in good fortune or ill, by day or by night, the man whose desires are set on love knows no peace.

38. The quest of love is full of suffering and in its attainment there is no appeasement of desire. Grief ensues inexorably from separation, and separation is inevitable in heaven.

The sojourn in Paradise is only temporary.

39. Man performs the most difficult tasks and reaches Paradise the inaccessible, only to come back again to the world of men as if he were returning to his home from a journey.

40. As the man who falls from Paradise has no grace subsisting, he is born again among beasts or among the Pretas or in Hell.

41. After enjoying even the choicest pleasures in Paradise, he falls and is grievously afflicted. In what way has that enjoyment advantaged him?

Some instances.

42. Though Śibi did such a marvellous deed as to give his own flesh to a hawk out of affection for everything that draws breath, yet he fell from heaven.

43. The primeval king, Māndhātṛ, attained half the throne of Indra, yet when his time with the gods had elapsed, he returned to earth below.

44. Though Nahuṣa ruled over the gods, yet he fell to earth and, it is said, became a snake and is not yet released (from that incarnation).

45. King Ilivila similarly, perfect in all the conduct of a king, went to Paradise, but fell again thence to become, they say, a turtle in the ocean.

46. Bhūridyumna, Yayāti and other royal seers purchased heaven with their actions, but on the exhaustion of their merit left it again.

47. The primeval gods, the Asuras, were robbed of their power by the Suras and took refuge in Pātāla, bewailing their power.

48. But what need to instance the royal seers, the Asuras, Suras and the rest? Great Indras have fallen hundreds of times; there is no security even in the highest position.

43. C's reading *sa devatvaṁ gataḥ* in *c* is easier in some ways, 'he obtained divinity yet in time returned . . .'.

47. G would translate *pūrvadevāḥ* 'who had been previously gods', but I think my translation, which follows H, more correct; cf. *MBh.* xii, 1184, *Asurā bhrātaro jyeṣṭhā devāś cāpi yavīyasaḥ*.

48. For the fall of Indra cf. *MBh.* xii, 8142, and the similar couplet in Gauḍapāda's *bhāṣya* on *Sāṁkhyakārikā* 2.

49. Upendra graced the court of Indra and covered the universe with three strides, yet when his store of merit ran out he fell roaring from among the Apsarases to earth.

The fall from Paradise.

50. The inhabitants of heaven fall to earth, even lamenting in their distress, "Alas, grove of Citraratha! Alas, heavenly lake! Alas, Mandākinī! Alas, beloved!"

51. For think how bitter is the suffering in this world of those at the point of death; how much worse then is the suffering of the devotees of pleasure who fall at the last from Paradise?

52. Their clothes retain the dust, their magnificent garlands wither, sweat appears on their limbs and they find no delight in their places.

53. These are the signs at first of the approaching fall from Paradise of the dwellers therein, like those ominous symptoms which herald the death of mortals.

54. Of the pleasure they experience from sensuous enjoyment in heaven and the suffering from their fall, the suffering is far the greater.

55. Therefore recognise Paradise to be transitory, ending in misfortune, without resource, not to be relied on and unsatisfying, and set your mind on final release.

58. Seeing that the inhabitants of Paradise despite their dominion come to destruction, what wise man would desire an ephemeral stay there?

59. For, just as a bird which is tied to a string, however far it goes, is brought back again, so people, tied to the string of ignorance, return again, however far they go.

60. As a man is released through a surety from prison for a definite period and, after enjoying the pleasures of home, returns to prison when his time has expired, so man reaches heaven by means of self-restraint,

50. This verse is quoted in *AKV* on *kārikā* vi, 3; see *AK*, IV, p. 126, n. 1.

52. Cf. *AK*, II, p. 136, n. 2 for references. That *ratir* is the correct reading in *d* is shown by the *bhāṣya* there and also by *Itivuttaka* p. 76. Aśvaghoṣa omits here the fifth symptom, the emission of an evil odour from the body. The *AK* gives a list of five earlier symptoms, precursors of these five, which do not appear to have obtained general acceptance.

56-7. The translation of these verses which I consider spurious is as follows:—

'56. For though the sage Udraka reached the incorporeal apex of existence, he will fall therefrom when his merit expires, and be reborn as an animal.

57. Sunetra, who went from here to Brahman's world by the exercise of benevolence for seven years, returned again and entered the abode of the womb.

Bhavāgra, a late word not used by Aśvaghoṣa, means the *naivasaṁjñānāsaṁjñāyatana* of the Ārūpya sphere of the universe. The story of Sunetra is to be found at *Aṅguttara* IV, 104.

59. For the simile cf. *Chāndogya Up.* vi. 8, 2, *MBh.* iv, 329 and *MK*, p. 357, l. 7.

60. In view of the employment of *niyama* throughout this canto in the singular, it would seem preferable to read °*niyamadhyānādibhiḥ* as proposed by H and LVP.

abstract meditation and the like, as through a surety, and in time is dragged back to earth again when his actions have produced their full meed of enjoyment.

The enjoyments of Paradise are transitory.

61. As heedless fishes in a pond, when enclosed by a net, do not realise the disaster that has befallen them from being penned in but swim about cheerfully, so those given to abstract meditation think they have gained their object in heaven, while in fact they are still in the world of existence, and they deem their stay there, which leads to return to this world, to be safe, permanent and not subject to fall.

62. Therefore recognise this world to be encompassed about by the disasters of birth, disease and death and to be revolving still in the cycle of existence, whether in heaven, among men, in Hell, or among animals or Pretas; and leading a holy life for the sake of that refuge which is happy and beyond all fears, delivered from old age and death, sorrowless and immortal, give up your designs on this fleeting Paradise.'

61. For the simile cf. *Dīgha* I, 45.

CANTO XII

DISCERNMENT

1. Then Nanda felt highly abashed at being upbraided by Ānanda for following the Law in order to earn the Apsarases as his wages. Nanda's agitation.

2. The feeling of deep shame made exaltation leave his heart, and his mind, downcast for lack of exaltation, did not abide firm in his vow.

3. Though the passion of love predominated in him and he was indifferent to ridicule, he could not put up with that saying, since the motive to a right life was now fully matured in him.

4. With his superficial nature he had previously deemed the joys of heaven to be eternal and, learning them now to be transitory, he became extremely agitated.

5. The chariot of his mind, desire, whose steeds are the fancies, turned back out of the road to Paradise, like the great chariot of a heedful charioteer from the wrong road.

6. When his longings were diverted from Paradise, he seemed suddenly to become well, like a sick man desiring to live, who gives up agreeable but unwholesome food.

7. As on seeing the Apsarases he had forgotten his wife, so now he gave up the Apsarases also in his agitation over the impermanence of the stay with them.

8. He reflected that even the greatest beings return to this life and, though full of passion, he became as it were free from it in consequence of agitation of mind.

9. For that agitation enured to increasing his tendency towards the highest good, just as the root *edh* is said by grammarians to take *vṛddhi* in its verbal form.

It is hard to determine the exact meaning of *pratyavamarśa* in the title and verse 19 below, as it does not apparently occur in any other Buddhist work, Sanskrit or Pali. Vācaspati Miśra on *Yogasūtra* i, 10, defines it as *sopapattika smaraṇa*, which does not fit, but which agrees with the use of *pratyavamṛśati* at *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* (ed Stcherbatsky, Bibl. Buddh. VII), p. 8, l. 13; the latter work uses the verb to mean 'discuss', 'explain', at p. 55, l. 10. The *PW* quotes the commentary on *Bhāg. Pur.* as giving (1) at v. 1, 39 *ātmapratyavamarśa* = *viveka* and (2) at iii. 14, 43 *pratyavamarśana* = *yuktāyuktavicāra*; and *MBh.* xii, 10834, runs, *durlabho hi . . . naraḥ pratyavamarśavān | yo vai priyasukhe kṣīṇas tapaḥ kartuṁ vyavasyati*, where the same meaning will do. The original meaning of *mṛś* with *pratyava* seems to be 'lay hold of', which suggests that it means the first step in the path of enlightenment (cf. verse 19), consisting of laying hold of the Law by faith in the Buddha. Perhaps it is best to take it as the discernment of the inherent rottenness of the world which follows on *saṁvega* and leads to *śraddhā*.

10. But steadfastness in respect of the past, present and future did not grip his mind in any way because of passion, just as *asti* is said to be used as a particle of all three times.

Nanda goes to the Buddha,

11. Mighty in the arms and freed from conceit, with swaying gait like an elephant with mighty trunk and freed from rut, he went to the Guru at the proper time to explain his feelings.

12. And bowing his head to the Guru, with his eyes dimmed by tears he folded his hands and spoke as follows, looking somewhat downwards in shame:—

and, renouncing the Apsarases,

13. 'I have no need of the Apsarases for the gaining of whom Thou standest, Lord, as my surety and I release Thee from the pledge.

14. For since I have heard of the impermanence of Paradise and of the vicissitudes of the cycle of existence, the continuance of active being either among mortals or among gods has no delights for me.

15. If, after obtaining heaven through toil, abstinence and self-restraint, men fall again at the end with desires unappeased, what is the use of so fleeting a Paradise?

16. And having obtained hence an understanding of the whole world with all it contains, I delight only in Thy supreme Law, the destroyer of all suffering.

asks for instruction in the Law.

17. Therefore deign to explain it to me both briefly and at length that listening to Thee, the Best of listeners, I may reach the supreme state.'

18. Then the Tathāgata, knowing his disposition and that, while his senses were still contrary, the highest good was now within his range, spoke thus:—

19. 'Ah! This discernment arises as the harbinger of the highest

10. I cannot trace the rule governing the use of *asti* as a particle but cf. *Pāṇ*. 3. 3, 146 for its use with the future. The rule is used however by Buddhist philosophers in the discussion of the reality of the past and future, see *AK*, IV, 58 and note 3 and *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* p. 581, l. 13 ff. and particularly l. 17 *astiśabdasya nipātatvāt kālatrayavṛttitvam*, and cf. *AKV* i, p. 15, l. 5. The argument is that when the Buddha said 'the past is', he meant 'the past was', i.e. the phrase means, not that the past is existent now, but that it has existed and is therefore a reality. Similarly for the future or in a sentence such as *asti niruddhaḥ sa eva dīpo na tu mayā nirodhitaḥ*. In such cases *asti* is considered to be a *nipāta*. The verse suggests that this line of argument may have been known to Aśvaghoṣa.

18. For *āmukhībhūta* cf. *Mhv.* I, p. 245, l. 17 and note thereon, *Lal. V.* pp. 182 and 205, *SP* 159, *Avadānaśataka* I, 137, *Jāt.* xiv, 23 and *Divy.* 180 and 350. I presume that *b* refers to Nanda's being still *sarāga* as stated in verse 8.

19. The discourse which begins here continues to the end of canto xvi and is taken to a large extent from the sūtra literature; some of the more striking parallels to extant works are referred to below or in the notes to the text. It deals with *śraddhā* in this canto, *śīla* and *indriyasaṁvara* in xiii, *vīrya* in xiv, 1–34, the preliminary stages of *smṛti* in the rest of xiv, *vitarkaprahāṇa* as the final stage of *smṛti* and the preliminary stage of *samādhi* in xv, *prajñā* by correct

good for you, as the smoke, rising when the stick is rubbed, is the harbinger of the fire.

The Buddha praises Nanda's decision.

20. What good fortune it is that you who have been carried away for so long down the wrong road by the restless horses of the senses have now entered the true path with unconfused gaze.

21. To-day your present existence has become fruitful, to-day your profit is extreme, since, though you know the taste of love, your mind yearns for renunciation.

22. In this world, which rejoices in attachment, it is hard to find delight in the cessation of active being; for fools shrink back from release from rebirth as from a precipice.

23. Men labour that they may avoid suffering and feel pleasure, and they do not understand that that pleasure of theirs is but surcease from excessive suffering.

24. The world clings to love and the rest, which are perpetual causes of suffering, transitory, and in reality its enemies, and it does not know the pleasure which does not pass away.

25. But you have within your reach that elixir which removes all suffering, the antidote which you wish, as having drunk poison, to take in good time.

26. Your intention deserves to be honoured, in that it holds the dangers of the cycle of existence to be unworthy; for you are facing towards the Law and have turned your back on so great a fire of passion.

27. Self-control is ever as difficult for the mind which has given a free rein to passion as for the thirst-stricken traveller who sees water which is foul.

28. Such a decision of yours was indeed obstructed by the dust of passion, as the light of the sun by the dust of a sand-storm.

29. It strives now to destroy the darkness of your heart, as the light of the sun, when poured forth by mount Meru, diffuses itself to dispel the darkness of night.

views on the four Truths in xvi, 1–48, and the various forms of *bhāvanā* in xvi, 49–67, with a general exhortation emphasizing the most important points for the rest of the canto. An indication that Aśvaghoṣa belonged to a school whose thoughts were tending in a Mahāyānist direction is to be found in the tremendous stress laid on *śraddhā* in this canto; for the nearest analogy to it occurs in an early Mahāyāna sūtra (see note in text on verse 36 below) and I know of no Hīnayāna work which eulogizes faith so heartily. A partial explanation has already been mentioned in the note on v, 16 above, but in actual fact the *AK* like the Pali canon treats the question of faith somewhat perfunctorily and is apt to disparage its value.

22. For the first line see S. Lévi's remarks, *JA* CCXV, p. 281 ff. The last pāda is quoted by *AKV*, see *AK*, IV, p. 124, n. 2.

28. LVP suggests *viruddhā* in *b*. This and the next verse cover the three roots of evil with *rajas* and *tamas*.

Eulogy of faith.

30. And truly your belief in the ultimate immaterial good befits the mind of one whose being is purified.

31. Therefore take heed to foster the desire for the Law; for desire, O knower of the Law, is specifically the originating cause of all the elements of existence.

32. Thus if a man wants to move, he makes the action of moving; if to lie down, of lying down; if to stand, of standing.

33. For instance, when a man believes that there is water in the earth (at a particular spot) and he has need of it, then he makes the effort of digging the earth there.

34. Again, no one rubs the fire-stick, if he has no need of fire or does not believe in its existence in the fire-stick; if the contrary is the case, he does so.

35. Similarly the husbandman would not sow seed in the earth, unless he believes in the growth of corn in the ground and has need of it.

36. Therefore I call faith especially the Hand since it grasps the Holy Law of itself, as a hand takes a gift.

37. It is described as the Faculty from its being the most important, as Strength from its steadfastness, and as Wealth from its abolishing poverty of virtue.

38. It is called the Reed-arrow from its power of protecting the Law, and is named the Jewel from the difficulty of finding it in this world.

39. Further, it is said to be the Seed in that the highest good originates from it and the River too from its property of cleansing from sin.

Faith should be fostered.

40. Since faith is the chief agent in the production of the Law, therefore I give it these names from its actions in these ways.

41. Therefore take heed to cherish this shoot of faith; for as it grows the Law grows, as a tree grows with the growth of its root.

42. As for the man whose doctrinal sight is dim and resolution weak, his faith is unreliable; for it does not work to the desired end.

43. For so long as the real truth is not seen or heard, so long faith

36. The Pali canon has *saddhāhattha* several times, e.g. *Theragāthā* 694 and 1090 and *Aṅguttara* III, 346 (also *Milindapañha* 413), while Buddhaghosa knows the comparisons with a hand, wealth and seed (*VM* 464). Could *akṣataḥ* in *d* possibly be the equivalent of *ayuta* ('unrepelled', Whitney) of the formula of acceptance at *Atharvaveda* xix. 51, 1?

39. I think on the whole the MS. reading should be kept in *b*.

43. The ending of this verse *saphalaś cāśrayaś ca* is rather clumsy with its linking together of an adjective and a substantive and has accordingly been objected to. Any emendation would however ruin the point;

does not become strong or firm, but when a man by restraining his senses with self-control sees the real truth, the tree of his faith bears fruit and becomes the vehicle (of further advance).'

for a tree has two functions, to bear fruit and to give shade, of which it is habitually called the *āśraya*. So too faith bears fruit and is the *āśraya* for further advance on the road to enlightenment (cf. xiii, 10). The closing words of the canto point, as often in Aśvaghoṣa's works, to the development in the next canto.

CANTO XIII

DISCIPLINE AND THE CONQUEST OF THE SENSES

The Buddha's methods of teaching.

1. So on being confirmed in the direction of faith by the Great Seer, Nanda was filled with the highest joy, as if bathed in ambrosia.

2. The Enlightened One deemed that Nanda had, as it were, attained his goal through that faith and he, too, deemed that by the Buddha's initiation he had, as it were, already reached the highest good.

3. The Teacher converted some by soft words, some by harsh speech and some by both methods.

4. Just as gold, though produced from dirt, is pure, free from speck and clean, and, though mixed up with dirt, is not stained by the defects of dirt;

5. And just as the leaf of a lotus, though originating in the water and growing in it, yet is not stained by the water either above or below;

6. So the Sage, though born in the world and acting for its benefit, is not stained by the conditions of the world because of His purity and stainlessness.

7. At the time of giving counsel He made use of now joining, now separation, now pleasant methods, now harsh ones, now fables and now mystic meditation, for the sake of healing, not at His own whim.

8. And so out of the greatness of His compassion He had put on a mortal body in His sympathy that He might release all beings from suffering.

9. Then the Best of Speakers Who knew the course of things, recognising that Nanda had become a vessel fit for salvation through His exhortation, explained the process of the highest good:—

Instruction in Discipline.

10. 'From now onwards, my friend, do you, fortified by the faculty of faith, take heed still further to govern your conduct so as to reach the state where death is not.

11. So act that the employment of your body and speech, being purified, may be candid, open, guarded and without defect,

I translate *śīla* in the title 'discipline', because, as is explained in this canto, it means the practice of certain actions of the body and voice till they become habitual and are produced instinctively without conscious effort.

1. *saṁrādhitaḥ*, lit. 'gratified', a very rare word.

6. The *lokadharmas* are properly the opposites mentioned in the note to xiv, 51 below but the word has probably a wider sense here.

12. Candid from giving expression to the feelings, open from not concealing anything, guarded from concentration on self-government and without defect from sinlessness.

13. You should sanctify the conduct of your livelihood in the purification of your body and speech and in the sevenfold work,

14. By not giving way to the five faults, hypocrisy etc., and by abandoning the four destroyers of good conduct, astrology and the rest,

15. By refusing what is to be avoided, living beings, rice, wealth etc. and by accepting the authorised rules of mendicancy with their definite limits.

16. Contented, upright, pleasing in voice and pure in livelihood, you should practise the remedy for suffering till you reach emancipation.

17. For this livelihood is explained by Me separately from the physical actions, namely those of body and voice, because it is so difficult to purify.

18. For it is difficult for the householder attached to many varied doctrines to attain purity of doctrine and for the mendicant whose means of existence are dependent on others to obtain purity of livelihood.

19. This much is said to be discipline. To put it briefly, it is good behaviour; in its absence there can be no proper life either as a mendicant or as a householder.

20. Therefore live the holy life, endowed with good conduct, firmly attached to your vows and recognising the danger of even the smallest faults.

21. For by taking your stand on discipline all actions take place in the sphere of the supreme good, just as standing and other actions of the body are performed by taking your stand on the earth.

13. The 'sevenfold work' consists of the three corporal and four vocal *karmapathas* (see note on iii, 37 above). I omit *śaucāt* as it does not make sense and L, which has *e* or *o* in the first syllable and *āt* in the second, certainly did not have *ś* and probably not *c*. The most probable word is perhaps *lokāt*.

14. For the five faults see *Majjhima* III, 75, *VM*, 23, and *AK*, III, p. 165 n. 4 and p. 189 n. 3. I cannot find the exact parallel to the second line, but cf. *Suttanipāta* 927, forbidding *āthabbaṇa*, *supina*, *lakkhaṇa* and *nakkhatta*, and *Mahāvyutpatti*, 198, 4–7.

15. The reference in the first line is probably to the ten things whose acceptance is forbidden at *Saṁyutta* V, 470–2.

17. The note in the text is based on a misapprehension; the meaning of the verse (cf. *AK*, III, 189) is that in the eightfold path right livelihood is included as well as right action of the body and voice, though the former in fact is made up entirely of the latter two, because of the difficulty of purifying it. *Yathādṛṣṭa* is practically equivalent to *laukika* here, but is perhaps adequately represented by 'physical'; *śīla* in this canto is *laukika*, not *lokottara*.

18. This verse is quoted by Vasubandhu in the *bhāṣya* on *kārikā* iv, 86, the passage in *AK* quoted in the previous note. The *AKV* thereon shows the correct reading in *d* to be *pareṣv āyatta°*. LVP refers also to *Atthasālinī*, p. 220.

The ladder of salvation starts from discipline.

22. My friend, comprehend that salvation is based on freedom from passion, freedom from passion on right understanding, and right understanding on the apprehension of knowledge.

23. Realise that knowledge is based on mental concentration and mental concentration on bliss of body and mind.

24. Bliss of body and mind is based on supreme buoyancy, and know too that buoyancy is based on ecstasy.

25. Similarly ecstasy is deemed to be based on pre-eminent cheerfulness and cheerfulness on freedom from remorse over misdeeds and omissions.

26. But the freedom of the mind from remorse is based on purity of discipline. Therefore purify your discipline, realising that discipline goes in front as the foremost.

27. Discipline is so-called from its disciplining, disciplining comes from habitual repetition, habitual repetition from keen desire for a thing and keen desire from dependence on it.

28. For discipline is the refuge, the guide as it were in the wilderness, the friend, the kinsman, the protector, wealth and strength.

29. Since discipline is such, my friend, you ought to perfect it. Further those who practice Yoga take their stand on it in the other undertakings towards emancipation.

Conquest of the senses.

30. Then you should hold back your senses from their objects by fixing your attention, since they are by nature restless.

31. A man should not so fear an enemy, fire, a snake or a thunderbolt as he should his own senses; for the latter are ever aggressive.

22. For *upaniṣad* cf. *AK*, I, p. 106 n. 3. This series occurs partially in many places and in its entirety at *Aṅguttara* V, 311; cf. *AKV* i, p. 56, l. 13 ff. *Saṁveda* and *saṁvid* occur in no parallel passage and we have invariably *nirveda* and *nirviṇṇa* or their Pali equivalents, which suggests perhaps that either *saṁveda* is to be taken in the same sense here or *nirveda* is not correctly interpreted in this series by a translation such as 'weariness', 'disgust'; cf. the use of *saṁvid* at xi, 10 and xiii, 39 and of *nirveda* at xvi, 44. The Pali *veda* has much the same meaning; see references under *veda* 1 in the P.T.S. Dictionary.

23. The last pāda is dead opposed to the Abhidharma doctrine that *sukha* is only of the body and never of the mind.

24. For *praśrabdhi* see *AK*, I, 157–9, where it is defined as *cittalāghava*, *cittakarmaṇyatā*. This leads to a discussion of the Sautrāntika's objection that the Sūtra speaks of *praśrabdhi* of the body.

25. Further references for *hṛllekha* are *Pāṇ*. 6. 3, 50, and *MBh*. xii, 9367, and 10821. For the application to omissions as well as commissions cf. the definition of *kaukṛtya* at *AK*, I, 166 and of *kukkucca* at *VM*, 470.

26. There was no need to reject the MSS.'s *avilekhasya* for J's *ahṛllekhasya*; *vilekha* is regularly used in Buddhist works as a synonym of *kaukṛtya* and *vipratisāra*.

27. For *śīlana* cf. *VM*, 8, and for *sevana* *Kathāvatthu* 509, *āsevanā*. *Nideśa* or *nirdeśa* I take to be connected with the Pali *niddesavatthūni* or *niddasa°* (*Dīgha* III, 252, *Aṅguttara* IV, 15 and 36).

29. I translate *anyeṣu* in *c*, as suggested by LVP.

30. Despite the mention of *smṛti* here we are still in the domain of *śīla*, the *indriyasaṁvarasīla* of *VM*, 20.

32. Rabid foes oppress some people sometimes or they may not do so, but everyone is always everywhere harassed by the senses.

33. And a man does not go to Hell when killed by foes etc., but he is dragged there helplessly when beaten down by the restless senses.

34. The man who is struck down by the former may or may not suffer in soul, but the man who is harried by the senses suffers in body and soul alike.

35. For the arrows of the five senses are tipped with the poison of fancies, have anxieties for their feathers and pleasure for their target and fly in the air of the objects of the senses.

36. They are discharged by Love the hunter and strike men the deer in the heart and, if they are not warded off, men fall pierced by them.

37. They should be kept off as they fall by the strong man who stands on the battle-ground of self-control and is armed with the bow of steadfastness and the armour of attention.

38. A man sleeps or sits anywhere at ease, free from worry, when the senses are pacified, as when enemies are suppressed.

39. For like hungry dogs in their greed they can never have enough and strain after their objects in the world.

40. The domain of the senses can no more be filled to satisfaction with their objects, though perpetually supplied with them, than can the ocean with the water ever flowing into it.

How to control the activity of the senses.

41. Of necessity the senses must be active in this world, each in its own sphere, but they should not be allowed to grasp the general or secondary characteristic of any object.

42. When you see any object with your eye, you should concentrate on the basic elements in it only and not form any conception of it as, say, a woman or a man.

43. If in relation to any object some perception of a woman or a man does present itself, you must not look on their hair, teeth etc. as beautiful.

44. Nothing should be subtracted from the object, nothing added to it; it is to be seen as it really is according to its nature and kind.

33. I take *nighna* as a synonym for *avaśa*. Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa* xiv, 58, and Mallinātha thereon.

35. Cf. *Atharvaveda*, iii. 25, 2, *ādhīparṇāṁ kāmaśalyāṁ iṣuṁ saṁkalpakulmalām*.

39. *Saṁvid* possibly here is more or less equivalent to *nirvid* (see note on verse 22 above) and, if so, would mean something like 'repletion'.

41. For the second line cf. also *VM*, 20, and for the ten *nimittas AK*, V, 185 (namely, the five *āyatanas*, *rūpa*, *śabda*, &c., male and female, and the three *saṁskṛtalakṣaṇas*, *jāti*, *jarā-sthiti* and *anityatā*).

44. LVP cf. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* 12 and notes that this verse with a variant last pāda recurs in Mādhyamika books.

Avoidance of likes and dislikes.

45. If you thus regard persistently the reality in the sphere of the senses, you will give no foothold to desires to possess or avoid.

46. The desire of possession destroys the passion-filled world by means of attractive forms, like an enemy with friendly face, having pleasant words on his lips and evil in his heart.

47. But what is known as the desire of avoidance is repulsion with regard to any object; by giving way to it out of delusion a man is ruined in this world and hereafter.

48. The man who is harassed by likes and dislikes, as by heat and cold, obtains neither peace nor the supreme good; hence the instability of men's senses.

How the senses cause bondage.

49. The senses, even though in activity, do not adhere to their objects, so long as imaginations about the latter are not conceived in the mind.

50. As fire flames when wind and fuel are both present, so the fire of sin arises when the objects of the senses and imaginations about them are both present.

51. For a man is chained by the false conception of an object, while by seeing the same object as it really is he is liberated.

52. On seeing a certain form one man is attracted, another dislikes it and a third is indifferent, while yet another feels compassionate disgust for the same object.

53. Hence an object of the senses is not of itself a determining cause either of bondage or of emancipation. Association with a special imagination may make it such or it may not.

54. Therefore one should strive one's hardest for the control of the senses; for unguarded senses lead to suffering and the continuance of existence.

56. In all circumstances, therefore, you should be attentive to restraining these sin-causing enemies, namely, sight, smell, hearing, taste and touch. In this matter do not be neglectful even for a moment.

45. *Daurmanasya* is in the Abhidharma the opposite of *saumanasya*, 'mental pleasure', which is to the mind what *sukha* is to the body. Here it is shown by the sequel to mean 'dislike', 'aversion'.

49. *Parikalpa* does not of itself imply a false conception, except in so far as all conceptions are false.

52. There are countless parallels in Buddhist and Brahmanical (especially Sāṁkhya and Yoga) literature to the first three pādas, and very few to the fourth. The nearest is in a Mahāyāna sūtra, the *Adhyāyitamuṣṭisūtra*, quoted by Candrakīrti in *MK*, p. 516 ff., especially p. 516, l. 13 and 19, and p. 517, ll. 19-21.

55. This verse, which I consider spurious, runs as follows:—

'Nothing except the antidote of tranquillity can cure the bite of the snakes of the senses, whose coils are the enjoyments of the passions, whose eyes are the beliefs in self, with the many heads of heedlessness, the flickering tongues of raptures and the poison of longings, and who lurk in the lairs of the mind.'

56. I should rather read *sarvāvasthāsu bhava niyamād* in c.

CANTO XIV

THE FIRST STEPS

Measure in eating.

1. 'Then, closing up the dam of the senses with the sluice-gate of attention, learn exact measure in the eating of food for the sake of mystic meditation and of freedom from disease.

2. For food taken in excessive quantities impedes the intake and outflow of the breath, induces lassitude and drowsiness and destroys enterprise.

3. And as too much food conduces to disaster, so eating too little leads to loss of capacity.

4. Deficiency of food drains away the substance of the body with its brilliance, energy, activity and strength.

5. As the scales fall with too heavy a weight, rise with too light a one and remain level with the proper one, so is it with the body and its nourishment.

6. Therefore you should eat, carefully considering your requirements, and should not measure out to yourself too much or too little under the influence of pride.

7. For the fire of the body, if loaded with heavy food, dies down like a small fire covered all at once with a great load of fuel.

8. Complete abstinence from food too is not recommended, for he who refrains from food is extinguished like a fire without fuel.

9. Since no creature drawing breath can exist without food, therefore to take food is not wrong, but a choice of foods is prohibited,

10. Since living beings are not so much attached to any other single object as to superfine food. Know the reason for this teaching.

11. As a wounded man applies a salve to his wound to heal it, so food is to be taken to destroy hunger by the man desirous of emancipation.

12. And as the axle of a chariot is greased to enable it to bear a load, so the wise man employs food to enable his life to continue.

1. *Saṁvara* also means 'guard', 'control', here secondarily.

7. Cf. *MBh.* xii, 11055, for the simile.

9. The meaning of the last pāda is not quite certain. I take it on the strength of the next verse to lay down that picking and choosing of food is forbidden, but, if it were not for the sequel, I should have expected it to refer to the previous pāda and to mean that an alternative opinion on the propriety of taking food is not permissible. Cf. *Dīgha III*, 43.

10. I still cannot solve *avijñāte*, but possibly *vijñāta* = Pali *pariññāta*, for which as applied to food see Childers s.v.; *avijñāta* would then mean food not limited by the restrictions prescribed by Buddhist regulations.

12-13. These two similes are found together in the same connexion in a Pali

Measure in eating (*contd.*).

13. As parents on a journey, grievous though they would find it, would eat the flesh of their children to enable them to cross the desert,

14. So food should be eaten with circumspection, not to obtain splendour or beauty of form or out of intoxication or wantonness.

15. For food is intended for the support of the body, like a prop for the support of a weak dwelling that is falling down.

16. As a man will construct a boat with great labour and even carry it, not because he loves it, but simply in order to cross a great flood,

17. So men of insight support the body by the usual means, not out of love for it, but simply to cross the flood of suffering.

18. Just as a man who is being oppressed gives in grief to an enemy, not out of devotion to him or of desire for anything, but merely to preserve his life,

19. So the Yoga adept tenders food to his body merely to suppress hunger, not out of gluttony or devotion to it.

The avoidance of sleep.

20. After passing the day self-controlled in the restraint of your mind, you should shake off drowsiness and spend the night too in the practice of Yoga.

21. And do not deem your consciousness to be then properly conscious, when during that consciousness drowsiness may make itself felt in your heart.

22. When overcome by drowsiness, always apply to your mind the principles of energy and steadfastness, of strength and courage.

23. You should repeat aloud those Scriptures you have studied, and you should teach them to others and reflect on them yourself.

24. In order to keep always awake, wet your face with water, look round in all directions and fix your gaze on the stars.

25. Walk about or sit down at night, keeping your mind from wandering and your senses directed inwards, steady and under control.

verse at *Jātaka* II, 294 (= *Milindapañha* 367 and *VM*, 45).

14. The second line corresponds to a very common cliché in the Pali canon (e.g. *Majjhima* I, 10), which is explained at length at *VM*, 31. *Dṛpti* does not occur elsewhere in Sanskrit and is the equivalent of Pali *dava*.

15. Cf. *Milindapañha* 36.

16. Cf. *Majjhima* I, 134–5.

21. LVP takes *yatsaṁjñinaś* as a compound in *a* and reads *guṇavatsaṁjñin tāṁ* in *c*; this simplifies the construction, but not only is the vocative somewhat dubious but the amendment of *c* is impossible metrically.

22. The Pali parallels are not quite exact. The *dhātus* of *ārambha*, *nikkama* and *parakkama* defeat *thīnamiddha* at *Aṅguttara* I, 4, and are the *āhāras* of *viriyasaṁbojjhaṅga* at *Saṁyutta* V, 66; cf. also *VM*, 132, 486. Law takes the four words to refer to various actions of the body, which is possibly on the right lines, if modified to refer not to the actions themselves but to the mental decisions which lead to them.

23. For this and the two following verses cf. *Aṅguttara* IV, 85 ff.

26. Drowsiness has no hold on a man affected by fear, love or grief. Therefore practice these three feelings when drowsiness assails you.

27. You should foster fear of the approach of death, love in marriage with the Law and grief at the boundless sufferings from birth.

28. This and the like, my friend, is the course to be followed to keep awake. For what wise man would let his life become unproductive by lying down to sleep?

29. It is no more fitting for the wise man who desires to escape from the great danger to sleep in neglect of the snakes of the vices than for a man to sleep in neglect of snakes in his house.

30. For since the world of the living is blazing with the fires of death, disease and old age, who would lie down in it without agitation any more than in a burning house?

31. Therefore recognising sleep to be mental darkness, do not let it overtake you while the vices, like armed foes, are still unquelled.

32. But after passing the first of the three night-watches in activity, you should lie down to rest your body in full control of yourself.

33. Lie with tranquil mind on your right side, keeping present the idea of light and bearing watchfulness in your heart.

34. Rise up in the third watch and, either walking or sitting, practise Yoga again in purity of mind with your senses under guard.

Awareness of the actions of the body.

35. Then fully conscious of all your actions, fix your attention on your sitting, moving, standing, looking, speaking and so on.

36. The man, whose attention is directed towards the door (of his actions) like a doorkeeper towards his door, is not molested by the vices, any more than a guarded town is attacked by its foes.

37. No sin is produced in him whose attention is fixed on his body. It guards his thoughts in all circumstances, as a nurse guards a child.

38. But he who lacks the armour of attention is a target for the vices, as the unarmed man is a target on the battlefield for the enemy.

39. The mind which is not guarded by attention is to be recognised as unprotected, like a sightless man walking over uneven ground without a guide.

26. Cf. *MBh.* x, 162.

32. Cf. *Majjhima* I, 273-4. C's *atandriṇā* in *d* is more in accordance with the usual phraseology.

33. Cf. *Aṅguttara* II, 45, and *Saṁyutta* V, 278, also *AK*, IV, 99 and n. 4 for further references (*ālokasaṁjñā* counteracts *styāna-middha*).

37. Aśvaghoṣa uses *kleśa* and *doṣa* as synonyms; cf. what I have said about the use of these words in early Sāṁkhya and Yoga speculation, *JRAS* 1930, p. 873 and p. 862.

38. There is a play on words in *raṇasthaḥ*, as *raṇa* is also a synonym of *kleśa*; cf. xvii, 23 and xviii, 28 below and *AK*, V, p. 86 n. 1.

The value of attention.

40. Loss of attention is the reason that men are attached to what is calamitous and averse from their proper aims and fail to take alarm in the presence of danger.

41. And it is attention which, like a herdsman after his scattered cows, goes after all the virtues, discipline etc., where they are, each in its own domain.

42. Lost is the everlasting good for him whose attention is distracted; it is within the grasp of him whose attention is directed to his body.

43. Where is the noble plan for him who lacks attention? And he who has not the noble plan has lost the holy Path.

44. He who has lost the holy Path has lost the place where death is not; and he who has lost that place is not delivered from suffering.

45. Therefore when moving, you should think 'I am moving', and when standing, 'I am standing', keeping your attention fixed on these and the like occasions.

Solitary meditation leads to tranquillity.

46. Thus, my friend, betake yourself to a seat or couch, suitable for Yoga, solitary and free from noise; for by first making the body solitary it is easy to attain discrimination of mind.

47. For the man filled with passion, who has not attained tranquillity of the feelings and does not adopt the solitary method, fails to find the Path and is hurt like a man walking on very thorny ground.

48. If an enquiring man has not visualised the truth and is surrounded by the varied manifestations of sensual objects, he cannot easily restrain his mind, just as a crop-eating bull is not easily to be kept out of a field of corn.

49. But as the brightly shining fire, when not fanned by the wind, dies down, so the thoughts, when not subject to any stimulus, come to rest with little trouble in solitude.

50. That man is to be considered successful who rejoices in solitude and avoids contact with others like a thorn, eating in any place whatever there is and wearing any clothes whatsoever, living anywhere sufficient to himself; for his mind is made up and he knows the taste of the bliss of tranquillity.

51. If a man live, pure with tranquil heart and indifferent to the

43. *Nyāya* is the plan or course mapped out for the religious aspirant to follow.

45. Cf. *Dīgha* II, 292, for the first line.

46. For places suitable for Yoga cf. my remarks in *JRAS* 1930, p. 877.

48. The explanation in the note to the text is wrong. *Kṛṣṭādaka* is the Pali *kiṭṭhāda*, applied to a *duppasu* at *Aṅguttara* III, 393, and *Theragāthā* 446 (see also *Saṁyutta* IV, 196); *kṛṣṭa* for 'crop' is curious.

51. The opposites are *sukha* and *duḥkha*, *lābha* and *alābha*, fame and disrepute, praise and blame (*Dīgha* III, 260).

opposites, in a solitary place in the world which delights in the opposites and has its heart disturbed by sensual objects, then he drinks the draught of wisdom as if it were nectar, and with heart appeased he reaches discrimination and deplores the world which is subject to attachment and greedy for sensual objects.

52. If he continually rejoices living alone in a deserted place, if he avoids intercourse with the sources of sin, as if they were enemies, and if living sufficient to himself he drinks the water of ecstasy, then he enjoys a happiness greater than the realm of the Lord of the thirty gods could give him.

CANTO XV

EMPTYING THE MIND

Concentration of the mind.

1. 'Taking up the best posture of meditation in some solitary place, setting your body upright and keeping your attention present,

2. You should make your wandering mind wholly intent on an object such as the tip of your nose or your forehead or the space between the brows.

3. If that fever of the mind, namely, the thought of passion, should molest you, it must not be tolerated but must be shaken off like dust which has lodged on one's clothes.

4. Although you have cast off the passions through insight, you must destroy them by their opposite, as darkness by light.

Destruction of the passions by destruction of the latent tendencies.

5. There remains a latent tendency towards them, like a fire covered up with ashes; it must be quenched by meditation, my friend, like fire by water.

6. For they become active again from that tendency, like shoots from a seed; by destroying it they would cease to exist, just as there are no shoots when the seed is destroyed.

7. Realise therefore what sufferings are caused by the passions in their acquisition etc. to those subject to them and cut them off, root and all, like enemies who style themselves friends.

8. For the passions should be killed like poisonous snakes, being impermanent, of their nature subject to loss, empty of real value, the causes of calamity and shared by many others (who may deprive you of them).

9. They lead to suffering in the quest for them, but not to tranquillity in their retention. They lead to great grief in the losing, but to no satisfaction in the consummation.

10. He is lost who considers satisfaction to lie in great wealth, success

The title means literally 'Elimination of the thoughts'.

4. The theory of the *anuśayas* touched on in this and the next two verses was much developed in Buddhist scholasticism; all ch. v of the *AK* is devoted to them and the views explained at IV, 6, agree with the definition here. But I cannot trace elsewhere the distinction between *pratisaṁkhyāna* and *bhāvanā*; the usual distinction is between *darśana* and *bhāvanā*. See ib., p. 10 ff. and for the Pali view p. 10 n. 1. There is a certain parallel, but not quite exact, in Vyāsa's use of *prasaṁkhyāna* on *Yogasūtra*, ii, 2 and 11. Cf. note on viii, 55.

8. Neither *barhyā* nor *varjyā* is satisfactory in *d* and on the strength of *AK*, IV, p. 10 note 1 (5), (which shows that *vajjha* at *VM*, 684-6, is equivalent to the *vadhya* of *kārikā* v, 6), I would read *vadhyā*. For *moṣadharman* cf. also *Majjhima* III, 245, and *Cat.* p. 481, l. 2.

to consist in reaching Paradise and pleasure to be born from the passions.

11. Take heed not to fix your attention in this world on the passions, which are unstable, unreal, hollow and uncertain; the pleasure which they give is but a product of the imagination.

How malevolence is countered.

12. Should your mind be troubled by malevolence or the desire to hurt, it should be made calm by their counteragent, as muddied water is made clear by a jewel.

13. Know their counteragents to be benevolence and compassion; for there is ever an opposition between them as between light and darkness.

14. He who has given up evil ways and yet in whom malevolence is active throws dirt over himself, as an elephant throws dirt over his body after his bath.

15. For what religious man, instinct with compassion, would cause further suffering to mortals already suffering from disease, death, old age etc.?

16. A man may or may not cause hurt to another by his malevolent mind in this world, but in either case the mind of the man of malevolent thoughts is forthwith burned up.

17. Therefore you should cultivate thoughts of benevolence and compassion towards all beings, not of malevolence or the desire to hurt.

18. For through habit a man's thoughts become inclined to whatever he reflects on continually.

Danger of evil thoughts.

19. Therefore you should abandon evil and think only of what is good; for it will redound to your advantage in this world and to the attainment of the supreme goal.

20. For evil thoughts gain in strength by being cherished in the heart and breed disaster alike for oneself and for others.

21. They lead not only to one's own ruin by placing an obstacle in the way of the highest good, but also to the ruin of others' devotion by destruction of the state of grace.

22. Moreover you should practise concentration in the workings of your mind, but in no circumstances should you think evil thoughts, my friend.

23. For the thought that works in the mind towards enjoyment of

21. It is not certain whose fall from grace causes the ruin of others; presumably it is the bad example of one's own fall which discourages others, but it might also mean that others' ruin is due to their own fall from grace.

23. I am not at all sure about the correct explanation of *trikāma*. *Kāma* is ordinarily fivefold, corresponding to the five senses, and it would hardly be likely to refer to *kāma* of body, voice and mind. Possibly it means *kāma* for the three *bhavas* or spheres

Danger of evil thoughts (*contd.*).

threefold passion both fails to attain excellence and also conduces to bondage.

24. A defiled state of mind involves delusion, resulting in the destruction of others and in one's own sinfulness, and leads to Hell.

25. Therefore do not destroy yourself by evil thoughts, when you are well-armed and adorned with the Jewels, like a man who in digging up the ground casts earth on his well-armed and bejewelled body.

26. Just as an ignoramus would burn costly aloe wood like ordinary fuel, so by not following the plan one would destroy one's existence here as a human being.

27. And the man who, passing over the Law that leads to final beatitude, should cultivate evil thoughts is like the man who should pass over the jewels and take away lumps of earth from a jewel-island.

28. The man who, having obtained the state of a human being, should follow sin and not good is like a man who should go to the Himalayas and eat poison and not health-giving herbs.

29. You should understand this and should cast out thoughts by their counteragents, as a wedge is driven out from a cleft in a log by a slender counter-wedge.

How to deal with thoughts of kinsfolk,

30. If your thoughts should turn to the prosperity and adversity of your kinsfolk, you should investigate the nature of the world of the living in order to stop such thoughts.

31. Who is a stranger, who a kinsman, among beings who are dragged along in the cycle of existence by their own actions? It is only delusion that causes the attachment of one person to another.

32. For in the past your kinsman (in this existence) was a stranger and in the future a stranger (in this existence) will become your kinsman.

33. As at eventide birds collect some here, some there, so is the relation of kinsman and stranger from birth to birth.

34. As travellers come together at shelters manifold and part again to go their separate ways, so is the union of kinsfolk.

of existence, i.e. *kāmarāga* for the *kāmadhātu* and *bhavarāga* for the other two spheres (*AK*, IV, 8).

25. As applied to Nanda, *suśastra* refers to the religious weapons, *smṛti* etc., and *ratna* to the Three Jewels. An almost parallel simile occurs *Mahābhāṣya* (ed. Kielhorn) I, p. 11, and *MBh.* xii, 285.

26. Possibly *upahanyā idaṁ* in *d*. In the cycle of existence it is a rare and fortunate circumstance to be reborn as a man; to fall below the stage of humanity, after having once reached it, would be disastrous.

31. The use of *jana* in the sense of 'stranger', which is common enough in Buddhist Sanskrit but more or less unknown in the classical language, appears to be a legacy from the Vedic language; cf. e.g., the opposition of *janya* and *mitriya*, *RV.* iv. 55, 5 and the use of *janya*, ib. ix. 49, 2.

35. In this world, which is by nature separate, no one is really the beloved of anyone else; it is cause and effect that hold the world together, like a hand holding a ball of sand together.

36. For the mother cherishes her son, thinking 'He will support me', and the son loves his mother, thinking 'She bore me in her womb'.

37. When kinsmen behave agreeably to each other, they display affection, but in the opposite case enmity.

38. Kinsmen are known to act in unfriendly fashion and strangers in friendly. Men make and break affection according to their interests.

39. As a painter might fall in love with a woman he had himself created (in a picture), so is man attached to man by inventing affection himself.

40. As for him who was your dear kinsman in the last existence, what is he to you now or you to him?

41. Therefore do not let your mind be obsessed with thoughts of kinsfolk; for there is no permanent distinction in the cycle of existence between kinsfolk and strangers.

and with preferences for particular districts.

42. Or if any such thought should arise in your mind that such and such a country is peaceful or prosperous or happy,

43. It must be abandoned, my friend, and not be entertained by any means, since you know the whole world to be blazing with the fires of the various vices.

44. Suffering from the return of the circle of the seasons and from hunger, thirst and fatigue is everywhere the rule. Nowhere is there happiness.

45. In one place cold, in another heat, in one place disease, in another danger afflicts men excessively. Therefore the world is without refuge.

46. Old age, disease and death are the great dangers of this world; there is no country where those dangers do not exist.

47. Where this body goes, there suffering follows after. There is no road in the world, by going along which one can avoid affliction.

48. A country in which the fires of the vices rage may be pleasant, prosperous and peaceful, but it must be recognised as a bad country.

49. In this world, which is overwhelmed by suffering of body and mind, there is no peaceful country to which one may go and be at ease.

39. *MK*, p. 46, quotes the same simile from the *Vinaya*.

44. *Nivarta* in the sense of 'turning round' is very unusual and it would be better perhaps to amend with C to °*vivartāc*.

45. I translate *lokaṁ* in *c*, as suggested in the note to the text; so also Gawroński and Prof. Charpentier.

50. Since suffering is the lot of everyone everywhere at all times, do not, my friend, hanker after the glittering objects of the world.

51. Therefore when this passion of desire is extinct in you, you will deem the entire living world to be, as it were, on fire.

Realisation of the uncertainty of life.

52. Or if you should have any thought not based on the inevitability of death, you must exert yourself to drive it away, like a disease attacking the body.

53. No reliance can be placed on life for even a single moment. For Death, like a tiger lying in wait, strikes down the trustful man.

54. Do not reflect that you are strong or young. Death strikes on all occasions and is no respecter of youth.

55. The man who understands the facts entertains no hope of well-being or of life, as he drags round a body which is merely a field for calamity.

56. Who can feel true bliss, while he inhabits a body which is but a receptacle for the great elements, resembling a pot full of snakes at war with each other?

57. Understand how wonderful it is that this man breathes in and immediately after breathes out again; for there is no relying on (the continuance of) life.

58. This too is another wonder that having slept he wakes up again or that after getting up he goes to sleep again; for whoever has a body has many enemies.

59. From the womb onwards Death follows a man to strike him down; who can trust him any more than one trusts an enemy with sword upraised?

60. No man born in the world, however strong he may be, however learned in religion, conquers or has conquered or will conquer Death.

61. For Death arrives raging and cannot be combated by conciliation, gifts, sowing dissension, force of arms or abstinence.

62. Therefore place no trust in this transitory life; for Death is ever carrying people off and has no reverence for old age.

63. For who would think he could escape Death, if his mind is sane

50. According to the Abhidharma *chanda* is the desire for what one does not yet possess.

54. LVP would read *nāpsekṣate*, which is probably correct, but L has *īkṣ* with *ava* several times, when one would expect *apa*, and possibly represents a peculiar usage of Aśvaghoṣa's.

56. Cf. ix, 12, above and note thereon.

61. The first line is evidently a reference to the *upāyas* by which a king according to Indian political science should deal with his foes. Standard works only give the first four, but *MBh.* xii, 2156, adds *upekṣā* corresponding to *niyama* here.

so that he sees the world to be without substance and frail as a bubble of water?

Control of breathing.

64. Therefore to put it briefly, my friend, for the abolition of these thoughts obtain mastery over attention with regard to in- and out-breathing.

65. So take heed by this practice to resort at the due time to the counteragents of these evil thoughts, as to antidotes of diseases.

Comparisons of the gold-washer and the goldsmith.

66. Just as a man, who washes dirt to obtain gold, first eliminates the grosser pieces of dirt and then the finer ones for its cleansing and, having cleansed it, retains the particles of gold,

67. So the man, who has concentrated his mind for the sake of emancipation, first eliminates the grosser vices and then the subtler ones to cleanse his mind and, having cleansed it, retains the constituents of the Law.

68. Just as the goldsmith in this world heats in the fire and turns over repeatedly the gold, after it has been gradually separated from the dirt by washing it with water, so the Yoga adept cleanses his mind from the vices till it is completely separated from the sins in this world, and then he brings it to tranquillity and concentrates it.

69. And as the goldsmith at his will reduces the gold in many ways so as to be easy to work in the various kinds of ornaments, so when the mendicant's mind is cleansed and has also secured control of the supernatural sciences, he reduces it to tranquillity and employs it as he will and where he will.

64. For *ānāpānasmṛti* cf. *Majjhima* I, 425. *AK*, IV, 148–9, lays down that it is intended for those cases in which *vitarka* as opposed to *rāga* is predominant.

66. For this and the next three verses cf. *Aṅguttara* I, 253–8.

69. For *yathecchaṁ yatrecchaṁ* cf. *Dīgha* II, 71.

CANTO XVI

EXPOSITION OF THE NOBLE TRUTHS

The five supernatural sciences.

1. 'Thus in due course by subtracting something and adding something through immobility of the mind and by attaining the four trances, the Yogin spontaneously acquires the five supernatural sciences,

2. To wit, the most excellent magic powers of many kinds, awareness of the motions of others' thoughts, remembrance of past births far back, pure and heavenly sight and hearing.

The Four Truths.

3. Thenceforward by the investigation of reality he applies his mind to the abolition of the infections; for thus he understands rightly the four statements of the Truth, suffering and the rest.

4. There is suffering which is continuous and whose essence is affliction; there is the cause of suffering whose essence is origination; there is the destruction of suffering whose essence is escape, and there is the path to tranquillity whose essence is rescuing.

5. Thus understanding with his intellect the four Noble Truths and penetrating to their core, he overcomes all the infections by the cultivation of meditation and, arriving at tranquillity, he is not born again.

6. For by failure to understand and penetrate the group of four which constitutes reality, mankind, mounted on the roundabout of the cycle of the universe, goes from one existence to another and does not attain tranquillity.

The first Truth.

7. Therefore, to put it briefly, recognise suffering to be birth which is the root of the afflictions, old age etc.; for as the earth is the place where all plants grow, so birth is the place where all calamities grow.

1. For *manodhāraṇā* cf. *Yogasūtra* iii, 1, *deśabandhaś cittasya dhāraṇā*, and for *b* cf. *MK*, p. 517, l. 20. *Niyamena* is glossed *yadṛcchayā* at *AK*, V, p. 300 n. 1 and I translate accordingly; lit. 'of necessity'.

2. For the five *abhijñās*, *AK*, V, 97 ff., and for *carita* as applied to the mind cf. *vicarita* in the sūtra quoted ib., p. 99 n. 2 and *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (ed. M. Müller), p. 13, *paracittajñānakovidā . . . sattvānāṁ cittacaritaparijñānatayā*.

3. There is no adequate translation for *āsrava*; definition at *AK*, IV, 73. The *āsravas* are the influences which attach a man to the *saṁsāra*; hence *sāsrava* and *laukika* are equivalent, as are *anāsrava* and *lokottara*, a point which is of importance in canto xvii (v. *AK*, IV, viii and *VM*, 13). For it must be borne in mind that a particular knowledge or action may be good as advancing the individual further along the religious path and yet still be *sāsrava*.

4. Cf. the similar but more developed definition at *VM*, 495-6.

5. *Prativedha* and *avabodha* are often joined, e.g. *AKV* i, p. 10, l. 7, especially with regard to the four Truths, e.g. *VM*, 509; sometimes *anubodha* instead, e.g. *Śat. P.*, p. 275.

7. Verses 7-16 explain the first Truth, 17-24 the second, 25-9 the third, and 30 ff. the fourth.

8. For the birth of form conjoined with the faculties of sense is identical with the birth of suffering in its many varieties, and that which produces the bodily complex produces (by that fact) death and disease.

9. As food, whether good or bad in itself, tends to destruction, not to the support of life, when mixed with poison, so all birth in this world, whether among animals or above or below, tends to suffering, not to pleasure.

10. So long as active being persists among creatures, calamities of many sorts, old age etc., are produced among them; for trees that have not come into existence cannot be shaken, however fearful the winds that blow.

11. For as wind has its birthplace in the air, as fire lies in the womb of the *śamī* wood, as water lies inside the earth, so suffering has its birthplace in the mind and body.

12. And as liquidity is the specific essence of water, solidity of the earth, movement of the wind, constant heat of fire, so is suffering the specific essence of the body and mind.

13. The existence of the body involves suffering such as disease, old age etc., and hunger, thirst, rain, heat and cold etc., and the existence of the mind with its concomitants, when incorporated in matter, involves suffering such as grief, dejection, anger, fear etc.

14. And seeing the suffering of birth present before your eyes, know that there has been similar suffering in the past; and as suffering has been and is, understand that there will be similarly suffering in the future.

15. For as the nature of a seed is known by present experience in this world, it is to be inferred that its nature was the same in the past and will be the same in the future. And as a fire in our presence is perceived to be hot, so also it has (always) been hot and will (always) be hot.

16. For where, O man of noble conduct, there is development of corporeality according to its qualities, there also is suffering; for apart from it suffering has not been and will not be nor can it be.

The second Truth.

17. And the cause of this suffering from active being in the world is

12. Cf. *Cat.*, p. 456, l. 5 ff.

15. The first line seems to imply the logical theory that *anumāna* is effected by the use of the *dṛṣṭāntas* supplied by *pratyakṣa*.

17. In addition to the references given in the note to the text, see the commentary on *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* (ed. Bibl. Ind.), p. 10 ff. for *kāla*, *niyati*, *svabhāva*, *īśvara* and *yadṛcchā* and for the first-named also *Maitrī Up.* vi, 14–16, *Gauḍapādakārikās* i, 8, *MBh.* xii, 8092 ff. and 8233 ff. and *KS*, i. 2, 35 ff.; it has also been treated at length by v. Wesendonk, *JRAS* 1931, pp. 53 ff., and by

The second Truth (*contd.*).

to be found in the category of the vices such as desire and the rest, not in a Creator or Primordial Matter or Time or the Nature of Things or Fate or Chance.

18. And for this reason it is to be known that the active being of the world proceeds from the vices, so that those who are subject to passion and to mental darkness are subject to death and he who is devoid of them is not born again.

19. Since a man moves, sits etc., according to his particular volitions to do this or that, similarly, therefore, the birth of creatures is to be recognized as due to the compulsion of desire.

20. Seeing all beings to be under the spell of attachment and excessively given to taking pleasure in their particular types, know that they are brought to birth again accompanied by the same vices in consequence of their habitual practice of them (in their previous birth).

21. And as the special character of the bodily constitution in this existence is brought about by anger, joy etc., similarly a special character, effected by the vices, is developed in various forms in their (new) births also.

22. In the (new) birth of one addicted to malevolence extreme malevolence is developed, of one possessed by passion excessive passion, of one in whom delusion predominates excessive store of delusion, and of one whose vices are less than this a lesser vice only.

23. For instance, when a man understands what sort of fruit he has before his eyes, he understands from its presence what its seed was in the past, and, when he identifies the kind of seed before his eyes, he recognises what its future fruit will be.

24. When a man has extirpated the vices with respect to any type of

J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit*, Stuttgart 1929. I would identify the *svabhāvavāda* with the *adhiccasamuppanna* school of the *Brahmajālasutta* (*JRAS* 1931, p. 566).

18. Pāda *b* looks like a quotation of *Nyāyasūtra* i. 1, 18, *pravartanālakṣaṇā doṣāḥ*: I have not found a similar definition in any Buddhist work. Alternatively it might have come from a Yoga source, but I cannot find anything earlier than Vacaspati Miśra on *Yogasūtra* i, 5, *kleśā . . . pravṛttikāraṇam* and he too may be borrowing from the Nyāya. The next six verses explain the effect of this principle in a manner to which I know of no Buddhist parallel.

20. The translation of *b* is uncertain. I take *jāti* as referring to the 'varieties' of disposition mentioned in verse 22 below. The phrase might also mean 'excessively devoted to love in their births', but, if so, it would not be so apposite to the argument of the passage. *Doṣaiḥ* in *d* may be instrumental in sense, not associative.

21. For *āśraya* see note on vi, 45 above.

22. It seems inevitable to give *doṣa* differing senses in *a* and *d*.

23. *Tadāgamāt*, 'by deduction from it'? Or read *tadāgame* (sc. *sati*) with H? The illustration is intended to prove the persistence of the same type of disposition through many births, when nothing is done to extirpate the vice associated with that type.

24. The translation is again uncertain because of the doubt attaching to the meaning of *jāti* as in verse 20 above, but to take *jāti*

disposition, he is not reborn in that variety owing to passionlessness. When a tendency to the vices subsists in any disposition, he is reborn in that type whether he would or no.

The third Truth.

25. Therefore, my friend, understand that the causes of birth in its many forms are desire etc., and eradicate them if you would be free from suffering. For an effect is abolished by abolishing the cause,

26. And the abolition of suffering proceeds from exhaustion of the cause. Therefore render present for yourself the holy, peaceful Element, the refuge which is free from the passion of desire and brings suppression (of all that makes for active being), the salvation which is eternal, unassailable and holy,

27. The stage in which there is neither birth, old age, death, disease, nor contact with what is disagreeable, neither failure of wishes nor separation from the agreeable, which is peaceful, final and imperishable.

28. Just as a lamp, which has reached the stage of extinction, does not depart to the earth or the sky or any of the quarters or intermediate quarters but from exhaustion of the oil merely goes out.

29. So the Saint who has reached Nirvāṇa does not depart to the earth or the sky or any of the quarters or intermediate quarters but from the exhaustion of the vices merely goes to peace.

The fourth Truth, the Eightfold Path.

30. The means to attain this end is the Path with its threefold wisdom and double tranquillity. It should be duly cultivated by the prudent man, governing himself by the pure threefold discipline.

31. Right action of voice and body and right livelihood, these three,

as meaning 'birth' seems to give a less good sense.

26. For the irregular *sākṣikuruṣva* cf. *sākṣi-karma*, *MK*, xxiv, 2. *Dharma* here means 'a constituent element of existence'. The Hīnayāna Buddhists analysed the universe into so many ultimate elements (references in note on xvii, 15, below), of which Nirvāṇa was one. The epithets show that it is the element of Nirvāṇa that is indicated here.

31. In this and the next five verses the mingling of old and new leads to some inconsistency. The order in which the constituents of the Eightfold Path are named differs from the standard Pali enumeration except that *smṛti* and *samādhi* come last in both, assuming that verses 32 and 33 have not been transposed; this latter contingency seems improbable in view of the order of discussion in the preceding cantos. The division into three classes is found in a scholastic sūtra at *Majjhima* I, 301, but the *prajñā* class there comes last, while *samyagvyāyāma* is taken out of it and joined to *samādhi* and *smṛti*. This corresponds to the order *śīla*, *samādhi*, *prajñā* of verses 34 to 36, which is also found at *VM*, 4–6. The threefold classification is apparently not dealt with in the *AK* except for a casual reference to the *prajñāskandha* at I, 159, where *vyāyāma* is included in it. The traditional Pali order is preserved in the commentary on *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra*, xviii, 64 and 65, which explains *vyāyāma*, *smṛti* and *samādhi* as the three factors for *bhāvanā*. It seems that *prajñā* which had no place in the original scheme was subsequently developed as the most important factor of enlightenment, as against *Dīgha* II, 216–17, and *Majjhima* III, 71, which give the pride of place to *samādhi* and make the other members of the Path lead up to it; a place could only be found for *prajñā* by assigning to it members of

The Eight-fold Path (*contd.*).

based on discipline, should be practised in the department of conduct for the mastery of the actions.

32. The noble doctrine with respect to the Truths regarding suffering etc., right thought and exertion, these three, resting on intuitive wisdom, should be practised in the department of knowledge for the abolition of the vices.

33. Right attention used in accordance with the plan in order to approach the Truths and right concentration of thought, these two, based on tranquillity, should be practised in the department of Yoga for the mastery of the mind.

34. Discipline no more develops the shoots of the vices than the wrong season will bring out shoots from a seed; for the faults attack but halfheartedly the mind of a man, when his discipline is pure.

35. But concentration of mind repels the vices like a mountain the mighty currents of rivers; for the faults, like spellbound snakes, are unable to attack the man who abides in concentration of mind.

36. But intuitive wisdom completely cuts away the faults, like a river the trees on its banks in the rains. Burnt up by it, the faults cease to grow, like trees burnt by the fire of the thunderbolt which strikes them.

37. By entering on this straight, noble, incorruptible Path with its three divisions and eight members, one eliminates the faults which are the causes of suffering and reaches the supremely blessed stage.

38. In following it are required steadfastness, simple-mindedness, self-respect, heedfulness and discrimination, desire for little, contentment and lack of attachment, patience and dislike of mundane activity.

39. For he, who perceives suffering as it really is, its origin and its destruction, attains peace by the noble Path and associates with auspicious friends.

40. For instance, he, who understands disease correctly as disease,

the Path which were originally considered to be of subordinate importance.

33. In *a* I accepted G's amendment too lightly and would now go back to the MSS. reading, *satyābhigamāya*; for *adhigama* implies an actual possession of knowledge for which *smṛti* only prepares the way but which it cannot give. Cf. the use of *adhigama* at xviii, 53, below and *AK*, V, p. 219 n. 1 and p. 246 n. 2 (v). For *nyāya* see note on xiv, 43.

35. *Vikkhambana* is associated with *sīla* at *VM*, 5. On further reflection I think that G's *sthitaṁ* in *c* may after all be right, the expression being not uncommon; we should understand *puruṣaṁ* and I translate accordingly.

38. I cannot find this group of ten qualities anywhere, though *AK*, IV, 145, knows *tuṣṭi* and *alpecchatā* as favourable to *bhāvanā*. For the amendment in *d* cf. *Theragāthā* 156 and 594, *Majjhima* I, 336 (*sabbaloke anabhiratisaññino*, with many parallels) and *Bhagavadgītā* xiii, 10, *aratir janasaṁsadi*; this last passage corresponds closely with the verse.

its cause and its cure, quickly regains sound health, being treated by skilful friends.

41. Therefore in the first Truth think of suffering as disease, in the second of the faults as the cause of disease, in the third of the destruction of suffering as good health and in the fourth of the Path as the medicine.

42. Accordingly recognise suffering to be identical with active being and understand that the faults are the cause of active being; realise that inactivity is the suppression of active being and understand that it is the Path which leads to inactivity.

43. The mind should be directed to the comprehension of the Truths even though one's head or clothing is on fire. For mankind through not understanding the doctrine of the Truths has been burnt, is being burnt now and will be burnt.

Abolition of the infections.

44. For when anyone sees that corporeality is impermanent, his views are correct, and seeing correctly he attains complete detachment and by the abolition of complaisance (in the things of this world) his passion is abolished.

45. I lay down that by the destruction of complaisance and passion his mind is rightly liberated, and, if his mind is rightly liberated from these, he has nothing further to accomplish.

46. For I say that for him who recognises and understands the nature of corporeality, its cause and its disappearance, the infections are abolished.

Examination of the elements.

47. Therefore, applying your utmost energy, strive quickly for the destruction of the infections, and in especial examine the elements which are full of suffering, impermanent and devoid of self.

48. For he who understands the six elements, earth, water, fire etc., both in their general and their specific characteristics and understands that there is nothing other than them understands complete liberation from them.

41. The absolutely exact analogy to this verse is to be found in the *bhāṣya* on *Yogasūtra* ii, 15, but the original in the Buddhist canon is given by the *AKV* (quoted *AK*, IV, p. 121 n. 4).

43. For *a* cf. *VM*, 217.

44. *Nandī* implies the pleasure in an object that springs from approval of it. For *nirveda* see note on xiii, 22; it means here the understanding due to the *ghṛṇā* of xiii, 52, and to the absence of the other three feelings of that verse.

45. Note *ca . . . ca* to express a conditional. Grammatically *asya* should refer to *manas*, but the standard formula of Arhatship in Pali, *kataṁ karaṇīyaṁ*, makes the above translation certain.

47. For *c* see the explanations in xvii, 18, 19 and 21 below.

48. The sixth element is *vijñāna*, whose inclusion facilitated the development of the *kṣaṇika* theory. Note also *AK*, IV, 158–159, which would identify the practice inculcated here with the *kāyasmṛtyupasthāna*.

Time and method of Yoga.

49. And he who has set his mind on the abolition of the vices must consider the time and the method; for even Yoga, when practised out of season and by the wrong method, leads to calamity and not to its proper result.

50. For if a man should milk a cow which has not calved, he would not obtain milk, because he would be milking at the wrong season; or again, given the right season, he would not obtain milk if through ignorance he were to milk a cow by the horn.

51. And a man who wants a fire will not obtain one from damp wood, however much he tries, nor because of using the wrong method will he obtain a fire even from dry wood, if he merely throws it down.

52. Examining duly the conditions of time and place as well as the scope and method of Yoga, a man should strive his utmost while having regard to the strong and weak points of his self and not doing what is contrary thereto.

Choice of subjects of meditation.

53. But when the soul is excited, he should not resort to the subject of meditation known as 'inducing energy'; for thus the mind does not reach tranquillity, as fire fanned by ⟨the wind⟩ does not die down.

54. It is when the mind is excited that it is the time for the subject of meditation which is prescribed for tranquillity; for thus the thoughts can assume tranquillity, as a blazing fire would be quenched by water.

55. When the mind is sluggish, he should not resort to the subject of meditation prescribed for inducing tranquillity; for thus the mind becomes still more sluggish, like a fire of little substance when not fanned.

56. It is when the mind is sluggish that it is the time for the subject of meditation prescribed for inducing energy; for thus the mind can become capable of action, like a sinking fire through fuel.

57. The subject of meditation inducing indifference is not recommended when the thoughts are either sluggish or excited; for thus it might bring about a grievous calamity, like the illness of a sick man if it is neglected.

58. When the thoughts have attained equilibrium, then is the time for the subject of meditation inducing indifference; for thus there would

50. For milking by the horn cf. *Majjhima* III, 141, and *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra*, commentary on i, 9.

53. *Nimitta*, properly the general characteristic of an object, is used of the general characteristic of an object selected to secure any particular type of *bhāvanā* and so may be translated as above. Verses 53-8 and 65-7 are closely related to *Aṅguttara* I, 253-8, which has already been quoted above on xv, 66 ff. Other passages that may usefully be consulted with regard to these verses are *Saṁyutta* V, 112 ff, *Dhammasaṁgaṇi* 1357-8, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra* p. 57, xiv, 9 and 10, and commentary on xviii, 49 and 65, and *AK*, V, p. 16 n. 3, p. 19 n. 1 and p. 23.

56. With regard to the note in the text I now doubt whether Aśvaghoṣa had any hand at all in the *Gaṇḍīstotra*.

be application to the duty in hand, like a chariot starting off with well-trained horses.

59. When the mind is disturbed by the excitement of passion, the method of cultivating the idea of benevolence should be avoided; for the man of passionate nature goes wrong through benevolence, like a man disturbed by phlegm through unctuous treatment.

60. But when the mind is excited by passion, the subject of meditation called 'impure' should be selected so as to reach steadfastness; for thus the man of passionate nature obtains relief, like the man subject to phlegm who uses astringent remedies.

61. But when the mind is agitated by the vice of malevolence, do not choose the subject of meditation known as 'impure'; for that meditation tends to the destruction of the man whose nature is full of hate, just as pungent treatment does for the man of bilious temperament.

62. But when the mind is troubled by the vice of malevolence, practise thoughts of benevolence by considering the application (of hurt) to yourself; for benevolence tends to tranquillising the nature full of hate, like cooling treatment the man of bilious temperament.

63. When the working of the mind is subject to delusion, the subjects of benevolence and impurity are unsuitable; for from them a man is overtaken by further delusion, as a man of windy temperament is overtaken by further unconsciousness, if given astringent treatment.

64. When the working of the mind is affected by delusion, the subject of reflection should be causality; for this is the path to peace for the deluded mind, like unctuous treatment for the man of windy temperament.

Comparison of the goldsmith.

65. Compare the goldsmith in this world who, placing gold in the mouth of the forge, applies the bellows at the proper time, wets it with water at the proper time and gradually at the proper time allows it to cool off.

66. For by using the bellows at the wrong time he would burn the gold, by throwing it into the water at the wrong time he would make it too soft and by letting it cool off at the wrong time he would not bring it to maturity properly.

59. Cf. *Majjhima* I, 424, and *Kāś.* p. 137, for this and the next three verses, and for the medical references in this and the next five verses cf. Lüders' remarks on medical fragments from Turkestan in *Festgabe Garbe*, p. 158-9.

63. I am not sure if I have found the correct translation of *sammoha* as applied to *vāyvātmaka*.

64. I cannot quote any definite authority for the prescription of *idampratyayatāvihāra* but it is implied by the definition of *moha* at *Dhammasaṁgaṇi* 1061.

65. Besides the *Aṅguttara* passage referred to under verse 53, cf. also *Majjhima* III, 243.

67. But one should consider in the mind the proper subject for meditation, whether of effort, of tranquillity, and similarly at the proper time of indifference. For even effort, if not regulated by the proper method, leads to destruction.'

68. Thus the Blessed One spoke to him of the right plan and of abandoning the wrong one and, knowing all the varieties of behaviour, He further explained the processes for the elimination of thought.

69. As the physician prescribes the treatment for the cure of disease according to which one of the three humours it is that has become deranged, so the Buddha prescribed the treatment for the faults :—

Need for rooting out evil thoughts.

70. 'If by one means impure thoughts cannot be rooted out because the habit has become too strong, then another course should be tried, but in no circumstances is the meritorious practice to be abandoned.

71. For the faults cannot be extirpated all at once, partly because the troop of the vices are very strong, having from their nature accumulated from time without beginning, and partly because right practice is difficult.

72. As a man, skilled in the job, uses a small wedge to knock out another bigger one, so a subject of meditation that has bad results should be driven out by selecting another one.

73. Or if nevertheless impure thoughts are not allayed owing to the inexperience of the mind, they should be eliminated by examining the faults inherent in them, as a traveller goes away from a road infested by wild beasts.

74. As the man, who wishes to live, would not eat food infected with poison, however famished he were, so the wise man abandons an impure meditation, recognising that it brings about sin.

75. For who is capable of holding back from vice a man who does not see it for what it really is? But he who sees the good quality in any good quality will set out for it despite all obstruction.

76. For men of noble birth are ashamed of the active workings of the mind towards impurity, the invisible, unholy desires, as a spirited and handsome youth is ashamed of unsightly and ill-arranged objects attached to his neck.

72. Cf. *Majjhima* I, 119, (Aśvaghoṣa evidently knew a version of a similar sūtra), also *Theragāthā* 744.

76. I take it that *d* is to be construed with the first line as well as with *c*, and accordingly equate *viṣakta* with Pali *visattikā*. *Acākṣuṣa* in the sense of 'invisible' (see *PWK*) occurs also at *Cat.* 502, l. 29, and in the *Praśastapādabhāṣya*. The parallel passage at *Majjhima* I, 119, mentions a corpse as the object attached and has *maṇḍanakajātika* to correspond to *manasvin*, for the meaning of which see note on iv, 3, and cf. *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha* iv, 96, *tat paruṣaṁ manasvijanaduḥśravam*.

77. But if evil thoughts, though shaken off, should subsist even a little, you must labour for their obliteration by some other means such as study, action etc.

78. The prudent man should even sleep or undergo bodily fatigue; but in no case should he meditate on wrong subjects, by attachment to which disaster might ensue.

79. For as a man frightened of thieves will not grant entrance at night even to his friends, so the wise man represses the practice of good and evil (thoughts) alike together with the faults.

80. If they still do not turn away, though combated by such means, then they must be eliminated, like the impurities of gold, by driving them out in the order of their grossness.

81. As a man exhausted with strenuous erotic practices takes to walking quickly etc., so does the wise man deal with the vices.

82. If evil thoughts are not allayed owing to failure to find the correct counteragent, still they must not be tolerated for a moment without opposition, any more than snakes in the house would be.

83. A man may do his best by setting the teeth, pressing the edge of the gums with the tongue and restraining the mind with the mind, but in any case they will not be readily docile.

84. What need for wonder that a man, who has adopted the forest life and is healthy in mind and free from delusion, should not be deluded? He indeed is a true saint and truly steadfast who is not shaken before the onslaught of such ideas in the soul.

Purification of the Path.

85. Therefore to obtain seisin of the noble Truths, first purify the Path by this method as you set out to subdue your enemies, just as a king, starting on a campaign to subdue his enemies and desiring to conquer hitherto unconquered sovereignty, has his road first cleared.

86. These forests on every side are auspicious, suited for Yoga and not thronged by man. Finding sufficient solitude for the body, enter the Path for the elimination of the vices.

Example set by the chief disciples.

87. Kauṇḍinya, Nanda, Kṛmila, Aniruddha, Tiṣya, Upasena, Vimala

81. Gawroński suggests *drutaprayāṇaprabhṛtīni* in *a*, which is better than C's amendment accepted in the text. The *KS* does not mention any such expedients.

83. Cf. *Majjhima* I, 121. For the construction of *kāmam . . . na tu* see *PW* under *kāmam*. Perhaps we should read *te 'nuvartyāḥ* in *d*, 'but in any case he should not give way to them', a sense which fits the context rather better.

87. It will be easier to determine the exact form of the names in this and the next four verses when Dr. Weller's translation of the Tibetan version of the *Buddhacarita* is completed; for Beal's transcriptions in his translation from the Chinese are often not comprehensible. The passage has been discussed in detail at *JRAS*, 1929, p. 352 ff., by Dr. E. J. Thomas, who would make the list contain 60 names, because that is the number of the first disciples sent out to apostolize the world. As, however,

Example set by the chief disciples (*contd.*).

and Rādha, Vāṣpa, Uttara, Dhautaki, Moharāja, Kātyāyana, Dravya and Pilindavatsa,

it is evidently not a list of these disciples, of whom only nine or ten are mentioned here (see *B.* xv and xvi in Dr. Weller's translation), I do not see any special virtue in the number 60, and it involves among other difficulties taking Kondeya Kāpya as representing one person; but both names are patronymics and their junction would be unusual. It is clearly a list of the chief disciples, whose number Pali tradition regularly places at 80 (e.g. *Jātaka* IV, 158). The detailed list is given at *Aṅguttara* I, 23 ff., and contains 75 names, 52 men and 23 women; some of the men's names are repeated and the original list may have had 80 names. About 30 of the names occur here. Aśvaghoṣa probably has in mind the similar list current in his school, whichever that may have been, and with canonical authority before him would not have hesitated to include women.

Dr. Thomas proposes to read *Kṣemājitau Nandakanandamātāv Upāli°* in 89 *ab*. If the person named is Kṣemā, L's *Kṣemājito* should stand. Khemā is in fact a person of great repute in the Pali canon, standing second of the women in the *Aṅguttara* list and singled out, ib. 88, with Uppalavaṇṇā as the model bhikkhunī; the two names are joined, *Mhv.* I, 251, but as the leading bhikṣuṇīs of a previous Buddha. There is an Arhat Khema, the only mention of whom seems to be *Aṅguttara* III, 358. Dr. Thomas is right in stigmatising Vupāli as a monstrous form, but *Nandakanandamātāv* seems to me a doubtful improvement. It can hardly mean Nandaka and Nandamāta, for no such name as the latter is known, nor indeed any other of similar form. If we divide it into Nandaka and Nandamātā, the junction of man and woman is so remarkable as to be almost equally out of the question. *Nandamātā* is a curious form, but *tatpuruṣa* compounds in *°mātā* are not unknown (Wackernagel, II. 1, 97) and not perhaps unreasonable with names that were probably originally Prakrit and then Sanskritised. The best way out of the difficulty seems to me to be to read *Nandakananda-māte* with *pragṛhya e*, which a copyist might well fail to understand and alter. I would then divide the compound to mean the mothers of Nandaka and Nanda. The latter is clearly Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the former I take to be the Uttarā Nanda-mātā of *Aṅguttara* I, 26, usually known as Veḷukaṇḍakiyā (with variant forms) from the name of her village. She is selected for special praise, ib. 88, and is repeatedly referred to in the Pali canon (e.g. *Aṅguttara* IV, 63 ff.). The *Buddhacarita* seems to know her, for according to Beal it mentions, verse 1684, a mother of Nanda of the village Vainuṣṭa, which looks like a wrong restoration of Veṇukaṇḍaka, and also a Vajuttarā (verse 1710); the first may well be the Pali Nandamātā. As this solution makes Aśvaghoṣa name the three women whom the Pali Nikāyas describe as the leading women of the community, it seems to me superior to those proposed in the text and by Dr. Thomas. He would also join *sa* and *Kapphinaḥ* into one word in 90 *a*, but this is hardly probable; for a similar *sa* occurs in 88 *d*, 90 *c* and 90 *d*, and in none of these cases can it be joined to a name. If it were not for the desirability of keeping to the MSS., I should in fact have amended *saśaivalau* in 91 *c* to the more probable *sa Śaivalo* or, corresponding more closely to the Pali form, *sa Śaivalī* or *sa Śivalī*.

The following notes are supplementary to or corrective of those in the text. 87. Dr. Thomas shows good reason for identifying Kṛmila with Pali Kimbila or Kimila; his conversion is mentioned by Beal, verse 1584 of the *Buddhacarita*, and *Vinaya* I, 350. According to Beal, verse 1708, the Buddha converted a Nāgarāja of the same name, which supports my identification of Kṛmiśa and Kṛmila, but obviously this is not the person named here. Dhautaki I agree with Dr. Thomas to be probably the same as Dhotaka (*Suttanipāta* 1007 and 1061 ff.), possibly a patronymic from Dhotṛ like Saudhātaki from Sudhātṛ (*Pāṇ.* 4. 1, 97). 88. Bhadrajit is one of the first five disciples (*B.* xv, 16, as translated by Dr. Weller), not Bhadrāyaṇa as Dr. Thomas suggested. I now give up the improbable Sujātavatsā and separate the two names; there were several well-known Vatsas, and Sujāta is an

88. Bhaddāli, Bhadrāyaṇa, Sarpadāsa, Subhūti, Godatta, Sujāta, Vatsa, Saṁgrāmajit, Bhadrajit, Aśvajit, Śroṇa, Śoṇa Koṭikarṇa,

89. Kṣemā, Ajita, the mothers of Nandaka and Nanda, Upāli, Vāgīśa, Yaśas and Yaśoda, Mahāhvaya, Valkalin, Rāṣṭrapāla, Sudarśana, Svāgata and Meghika,

90. Kapphina, Kāśyapa of Uruvilvā, Mahāmahākāśyapa, Tiṣya, Nanda, Pūrṇa, Pūrṇa, Pūrṇaka and Pūrṇa Śonāparānta,

91. Śāradvatīputra, Subāhu, Cunda, Kondeya, Kāpya, Bhṛgu, Kuṇṭhadhāna, Śaivala, Revata and Kauṣṭhila, and Maudgalyāyana and Gavāmpati:

92. The courage which they showed in the practice of Yoga do you also display quickly in proper form. Then you will certainly reach the stage and glory those . . . ones reached.

The virtue of energy.

93. Just as a substance may be hot in taste and yet when eaten be easy to digest, so energy may be painful through the toil it involves and yet be pleasant in its result through the accomplishment of the object in hand.

94. Energy is of the greatest import, for it is the foundation for carrying through what is to be done and without energy nothing can be accomplished; all success in the world arises from energy, and if there be a lack of it there is nothing but sin.

95. For men who have not energy there can certainly be no acquisition of what they have not acquired, and there is loss of what they have acquired as well as self-contempt, misery, and insult from the stronger, mental darkness, loss of power, and cessation of learning, of self-control and of contentment, and ultimately descent to a lower plane of existence.

96. It is indolence, not his enemy, that is the cause that a man capable of success, on hearing of the method, fails to progress, that, knowing the supreme Law, he does not gain an abode above and that, having left his home, he does not attain peace in Salvation.

97. A man obtains water if he digs the earth with unremitting energy; he produces fire from the fire-sticks by continuous friction; and the men

Arhat praised by the Buddha at *Saṁyutta* II, 278. 89. Svāgata appears in the *Aṅguttara* list. 90. The double *mahā* before Kāśyapa's name is significant, for *B.* xvii, 24 ff., which describes his conversion, puts him on a level with, if not superior to, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. For Pūrṇa Śonāparānta see also *Majjhima* III, 267. 91. Śaivala is presumably the same as Sīvali of the *Theragāthā* and was accordingly omitted from the notes to the text. Kauṣṭhila according to *AKV* i, p. 12, l. 5, was the author of the *Saṁgītiparyāya*.

92. I omit the first word of *d* in the translation, as the correct reading is entirely uncertain.

93. I read °*siddhyā* in *d*, as neither the text nor G's amendment give a good sense.

94. Or *a* can be taken as a single sentence, 'for energy is the chief foundation etc.'.

The virtue of energy (*contd.*).

who apply themselves to Yoga certainly obtain the fruit of their toil. For streams, by ever running swiftly, wear away even mountains.

98. By ploughing the soil and by guarding (his field) with infinite pains man obtains a splendid crop; by diving strenuously into the ocean he rejoices in splendid jewels; by overwhelming the might of his enemies with arrows he enjoys the splendour of sovereignty. Therefore show energy for the sake of tranquillity; for of a certainty all prosperity lies in energy.'

CANTO XVII

THE ENTRY INTO IMMORTALITY

1. So Nanda was thus instructed in the path to reality and then, entering the Path of Salvation, he did reverence to the Guru with all his heart and departed to the forest to eliminate the vices.

Nanda enter the Path of Salvation.

2. There he saw a quiet glade in a group of trees with soft *dūrvā* grass and surrounded by a stream running noiselessly with water blue as beryl.

3. There by the clean, auspicious and splendid root of a tree, after bathing his feet and putting on the girdle of resolution for Salvation, he took up the Yogin's posture, bent over his lap.

4. Straightening all his body, he directed his attention on his body and, collecting all his sense-faculties in himself, he entered earnestly into the practice of Yoga.

5. Then in his desire to grasp the entire truth and to perform the practices favourable to Salvation, he passed along the stage of preparation of the mind through mundane knowledge and tranquillity.

6. By assuming steadfastness, applying effort, driving away attachment and mastering his capacity, he caused his thoughts to be tranquil and to abide in the rule of abstinence, and, being then at ease, he lost all liking for sensual objects.

7. But then, despite the zeal of his mind and the resolution of his soul, the idea of love from constant habit fouled his mind, as a thunderbolt coming in the rains makes the water turbid.

His fight with passion

8. He recognised the disturbance in his feelings and quickly threw

For *adhigama* in the title see note on xvi, 33. Aśvaghoṣa's use of *amṛta* here and at iii, 27, xiii, 10, and xiv, 42, as of *amṛtatva* at iii, 5, seems to imply a positive, not a negative, view of the nature of Nirvāṇa.

2. Gawroński would read °*odakam āvahantyā* in *d*, which may be right, but it seems rather more probable however that the remains in L of the letter in question are of *yā* than of *mā*. *Nīlaśaṣpa* = *nīladūrvā* ?

3. *Aṅkāvahita* doubtful, perhaps 'with flattened lap'.

5. Prof. Charpentier has pointed out to me from the *PW* that the desiderative of *ci* occurs compounded with *ni* in Vedic Sanskrit. The note in the text about *lokya* is not quite accurate. It is equivalent to *laukika*, for which see note on xvi, 3. More probably it agrees with *jñānena*; mundane knowledge cannot lead to final salvation and gives but a precarious grasp of the truth. It is the entire mundane path, not merely *śīla*, which is indicated in verse 17 below. Possibly, however, *śīlena* is to be understood, as it can be either *laukika* or *lokottara*; the former is defined at *VM*, 13, as *bhavavisesāvahaṁ bhavanissaraṇassa ca sambhāro*. For *cetaḥparikarman* it may be noted that *cittaparikarma* is the title of ch. xii of the *Śikṣ*.

8. *Paryavasthāna* according to *AK*, IV, 6, represents the *kleśas* when active, as *anuśaya*

Nanda's fight with passion (*contd.*).

off that idea so ruinous to the Law, like a man of spirit who with thoughts filled with wrath rejects an offending woman, however dear she be to him.

9. But again an evil thought approached him when all his energy was applied to attaining tranquillity of mind, like a fearful symptom coming on a man whose mind is set on the destruction of his illness.

10. To overcome it he had recourse to another good subject of meditation favourable to Yoga, as a man whose power has failed and who is being overthrown by a mighty enemy has recourse to a powerful protector of the oppressed.

11. Just as a king obtains possession of lands not previously ruled by him by building strong cities, administering justice, making allies and repressing enemies, so is the policy in Yoga of the man who seeks Salvation.

12. For the mind of the Yogin also who aspires to Salvation is his strong city, the way of knowledge his administration of justice, the virtues his allies, the vices his enemies and Salvation the land for whose conquest he strives.

13. Desiring release from the mighty net of suffering, wishing to enter into possession of the Road of Salvation and desiring to see the supreme noble Path, he reached tranquillity by obtaining a certain degree of insight.

14. The homeless wanderer who should make himself into a home of mental darkness would, though he were taught the truth, be neglectful of it, but, since Nanda was a vessel fit for Salvation, he collected his mind in himself.

He examines the elements of existence,

15. Then in possession of his soul and devoted to escape from being, he duly examined the elements of existence according to their prerequisites, their causation, their nature, the sensations with which they are experienced and their individual defects.

16. He investigated the body in order to see its entire material and

represents them when dormant, but see also ib., p. 3, n. 4. The word is specially associated with anger in the *Divy.* and *Avadānaśataka* as well as at *AK*, IV, 89 ff. and *AKV* iii, p. 191, l. 23, whence perhaps *krodha* in the second line here. For the sense of *manasvī* cf. the note on iv, 3, above and the similar use at xvi, 76.

11. From Pali usage it would seem that *gṛh* with *sam* had an almost technical sense in the earlier political science of bringing people over to one's side; cf. the use of *saṁgaṅhāti* at *Vin.* I, 119, and III, 90, and of *saṁgahakaraṇa* in Buddhaghosa's explanation of *upalāpanā* on *Dīgha* II, 76 (see *JRAS*, 1931, p. 573). It does not seem to be so used in *Kauṭ. A.*

13. It would also be possible in *d* to construe *kiṁcit* with *śamaṁ yayau*, but this seems to me less probable.

15. G's conjecture of *niḥsaraṇātmakaś* in *c* was omitted by mistake from the variants; on further reflection I think it should be accepted and translate accordingly. For the various categories of the *dharmas* see *AK*, I, 144, Stcherbatsky, *Central Conception of Buddhism*, p. 98 ff., and Rosenberg, *Probleme der Buddhistischen Philosophie* (Heidelberg, 1924), ch. ix.

16. From the next verse one would ex-

immaterial substance. Then he deemed it to be impure, subject to suffering, impermanent, without owner or self.

17. For from a consideration of the body's impermanence, its absence of individuality, its lack of self and its liability to suffering he made the tree of the vices shake by the supreme mundane Path.

18. Since inevitably in this world all phenomena come into being from not-being and pass away again from being into not-being, and since they all have a cause and that a transitory cause, therefore he concluded that the world is impermanent.

19. Since the union with *karman* of whatever is born is continually operative and is the cause of bondage and destruction, and since what is called pleasure is but the means of countering suffering, he saw that mundane existence is suffering.

20. Since the individual is a mere creature of the *saṁskāras* and there is neither agent nor knower and active being originates from the complex (of the causes), he saw that this world is devoid (of individuality).

21. Since the world has no motive force of its own and is not self-dependent, and since there is no one being who exercises paramountcy over actions, and since states of being arise from dependence on other states, he understood the world to be without soul.

22. Then he reached the inaccessible supermundane Path, as one might obtain a breeze in the hot weather by fanning or the fire which abides in the wood by friction or the water in the ground by digging.

and gains the supermundane Path.

23. Holding the bow of holy knowledge, girding on the armour of attentiveness and taking up his post on the chariot of the vows of pure

pect *asva* to be equivalent to *śūnya* and this would agree with the Vaibhāṣika view at *AK*, V, 31, that *śūnya* is equivalent to *na mama* (to use Aśvaghoṣa's language) and *nirātmaka* to *nāham*; the explanation of the two terms in 20 and 21 below is perhaps in consonance with this in essence. *Śūnya* must not of course be understood here in the Mādhyamika sense of *svabhāvaśūnya*, 'devoid of absolute reality', i.e. 'relative'. It may be noted that none of the alternative explanations of this much disputed set of terms in the *AK* exactly corresponds to Aśvaghoṣa's exegesis.

18. For references for *sarvam* see *AK*, V, p. 248 n. 1. I am not at all sure of the rendering of *c*; LVP would read *ahetukaṁ ca kṣayi hetumac ca*, which is easy enough to follow, but would a Buddhist allow that a phenomenon coming under the class of *anitya* could be *ahetuka*?

20. *Sāmagrya* stands here for *sāmagrī*, the regular word in Buddhist dogmatics of all schools for the complex of *hetus* and *pratyayas* which cause all being with special relation to the law of dependent generation, and no doubt occurs in this form for metrical reasons. Cf. for instance *VM*, 521–2, with *Śat. P.*, p. 1410, *sāmagrīlakṣaṇaḥ pratītyasamutpādaḥ*, and *Cat.*, p. 469, *hetupratyayasāmagryā karma saṁskriyate yataḥ*. For *kāraka* and *vedaka* cf. *VM*, 578, and the sūtra restored in *AK*, V, p. 249 n. 5.

21. Pāda *b* is to be understood primarily as denying the existence of any single final cause such as *īśvara* etc. (cf. *AK*, I, 310 ff., and V, 38 and ib. n. 4) but may also be intended to deny the unity of the individual as governed by an *ātman*.

23. For the double sense of *raṇa* see note on xiii, 38.

discipline, he prepared for victory, ready to join battle with the foes of the vices arrayed on the battlefield of the thoughts.

24. Then taking the sharp weapons of the constituents of enlightenment and standing on the excellent chariot of right efforts, with an army containing the elephants of the constituents of the Path, gradually he pierced the battle-line of the vices.

25. With the four arrows of the application of attention working each along its own line of activity, he destroyed in a moment his foes, the four perversions of knowledge, the causes of suffering.

26. With the five unequalled noble powers he burst asunder the five obstructions of the mind and he put to flight the eight elephants of the constituents of the false path with the eight elephants of the constituents of the true Path.

Nanda obtains the first fruit,

27. Then by shaking off entirely the theory of the existence of the self, by becoming free from doubt in the four Truths and by taking the true view of the discipline to be followed, he reached the stage of the first fruit of the Law.

28–29. He rid himself of hesitation in the practice of the Law by means of his understanding of the noble Tetrad, by disconnection from one section of the vices, by his individual acquisition of excellence, by perception of the ecstasy felt by possessors of true knowledge, by the firmness of his faith, by the constancy of his steadfastness, by freedom from confusion about the four Truths and by absence of defect in his own most excellent conduct.

30. Released from the net of wrong views and seeing the world as it actually is, he experienced the ecstasy that has its base in knowledge and felt still further faith in the Guru.

31. For he, who recognises active being in this world not to be determined by any outside cause or to be without a cause, but understands

25. For the *smṛtyupasthānas* opposing the *viparyāsas* see *AK*, IV, 162. For the latter group see also *AK*, IV, 21, and references in n. 2, *MK*, ch. xxiii, and *Cat.*, verse 75. In *d āyatana* refers to those of the twelve *āyatanas* which cover *kāya*, *saṁjñā*, *citta* and the *dharmas* respectively; and *pracāra* as applied to the arrows refers to the line of flight, an object within which will be hit by them. It is difficult to bring this out in the translation.

27. Each of the first three pādas describes one of the first three *saṁyojanas* (*satkāyadṛṣṭi*, *vicikitsā* and *śīlavrataparāmarśa*), which the Srotaāpanna has broken on reaching that grade; see *AK*, IV, 81–7. I translate *c* rather freely, following the definition ib. under *kārikā* 44.

28. *Kleśaikadeśa* refers to the *kleśas* that derive from the false views detailed in the previous verse.

29. The last pāda could mean that as a Srotaāpanna he was destined to obtain enlightenment in due course, if we could take *niḥsaṁśaya* as equivalent to *niyata*, the usual term.

30. LVP suggests *yathābhūtam* in *b*, which I consider an improvement, though not absolutely certain, and translate accordingly.

that everything is dependent on something else, sees the noble Law that leads to final beatitude.

32. And he who sees the peaceful, holy, unaging, passionless Element, the ultimate good, and its Teacher, the Chief of the Saints, has obtained illumination and sees the Buddha.

33. As a man recovered from illness by auspicious treatment regards the physician gratefully in acknowledgement with his mind's eye and is delighted with his benevolence and knowledge of the (medical) treatises,

34. So he who is freed by the noble Path, knowing reality, possessing the noble reality and experiencing it with his body, regards the Tathāgata in acknowledgement and is delighted with His benevolence and omniscience.

35. Freed from destructive aberrations of doctrine, seeing the end of rebirth and feeling disgust in the manifestations of the vices, Nanda was not afraid of death or of the realms of misery.

36. Then seeing the body to be but an impure aggregate of skin, sinew, fat, blood, bone, flesh, hair etc., and reflecting on its substance, he did not perceive even the minutest (real substance) in it.

and the second fruit.

37. Firm in himself, with the same Yoga he reduced to small proportions desire and hate, and so he, whose body was broad-chested, by reducing these two obtained the second fruit of the noble Law.

38. The small remains of the great foe, passion, whose bow is greed and arrows imaginations, he overwhelmed by the missiles of the weapon of Yoga, the arrows of meditation on impurity, which are acquired by considering the very nature of the body.

39. Malevolence, the foe who is pregnant (of evil), whose weapon is

33. Cf. *Milindapañha* 139.

34. For *kāyasākṣin* see *AK*, IV, 223 ff. It means touching with the body (thought being extinct) the *Nirvāṇadhātu* in the *saṁjñāveditanirodhasamāpatti*; originally possible only to an Arhat, the *AK* admits it also for the Anāgāmin. But in either case it was not yet admissible to Nanda, unless Aśvaghoṣa held a different theory.

36. If we substituted for *keśa* in *b śukra* or an equivalent we should get the seven *dhātus* of the body given by Vyāsa on *Yogasūtra* iii, 28. But the hair seems to be regularly mentioned in similar Buddhist enumerations, cf., e.g., *MK*, p. 57, l. 14, and references given there. For this use of *aṇu* cf. *Śat. P.*, p. 1418, *yathāṇv api na samanupaśyati.*

37. This verse is important as showing how far Buddhist dogma had developed in Aśvaghoṣa's time. The Pali Nikāyas describe the Sakṛdāgāmin as the man who has reduced to small proportions *rāga*, *dveṣa* and *moha*, the three roots of evil, e.g. *Dīgha* I, 156, and we find this still at *Milindapañha* 103. But later *moha* was identified with *avidyā* and it was felt impossible that it should be tackled at this stage. So we find that the *Dhammasaṁgaṇi* (362 and 390) and the *AK* (IV, 81–7) substitute the two *saṁyojanas*, *kāmarāga* and *pratigha*, for *rāga* and *dveṣa* and omit *moha*; I think there are one or two late passages in the Nikāyas taking the same view, for which I have not got the references, as does *Śat. P.*, p. 296.

39. *PWK* quotes *Harivaṁśa* 1348 for this sense of *antaḥprasava*.

hate and who discharges the arrows of wrath, he struck down by the arrows of benevolence which are placed in the quiver of firmness and fitted to the bowstring of patience.

40. Then the hero cut away the three roots of evil with the three bases of liberation, as an enemy cuts down with three steel-tipped arrows three enemies standing at the head of the hostile array and holding bows.

Nanda obtains the third fruit,

41. Having overcome those foes who attack from the rear, in order to pass out of the Kāmadhātu sphere, and having reached by Yoga the fruit of not being subject to rebirth on earth, he stood as it were at the gate of the city of Nirvāṇa.

and realises the first trance,

42. Then he reached the first trance which is dissociated from (the various forms of) love and the impure elements of existence, has initial and sustained reflection, is born of discrimination and is endowed with ecstasy and bliss.

43. Released from the burning fire of love, he experienced supreme joy from the bliss of the trance, entering into bliss, like one oppressed by heat on entering the water or like a poor man on obtaining great wealth.

44. At that point too, understanding the initial reflections on those elements and the sustained reflections on their merit and demerit to be disturbing to the mind and not to lead to tranquillity, he determined to rid himself of them.

45. For as waves disturb a stream running with calm clear water, so thoughts are the waves of the water of the mind and disturb it when it is in a state of concentration.

46. As noises harass a man who is tired and soundly asleep, so thoughts harass the man who has attained internal concentration.

the second trance,

47. Then in due course he produced the second trance in which initial and sustained reflections are absent, which is calm from the in-

40. The *vimokṣāyatanas* are usually called the *vimokṣamukhas* (*śūnyatā*°, *animitta*°, *apraṇihita*°); see *AK*, V, 187, and *VM*, 657. The three roots of evil are *rāga* (later altered to *lobha* in the Pali canon), *dveṣa* and *moha*. The first is dealt with in verse 38 by the method prescribed in xvi, 60, and the second in verse 39 according to the method of xvi, 62. Is there a distinction of meaning in *d* between *arīn* and *ariḥ*? Has the latter here the Vedic sense of 'noble man'?

41. The first five *saṁyojanas*, namely the three given under verse 27 with *kāmacchanda* and *vyāpāda*, prevent the aspirant from passing out of the Kāmadhātu sphere, *AK*, IV, 85.

42. The mention of *prīti* and *sukha* in the first three trances gave rise to much discussion among the Ābhidharmikas; see *AK*, V, 150 ff., and I, 114.

43. The suppression of *kāma* is an essential preliminary to the first trance, e.g. *Aṅguttara* IV, 410.

44. I am not quite sure of the meaning of *taddharma* in *a*, presumably the *dharmas* referred to in verse 42.

45. Cf. *VM*, 156–7.

tentness of the mind, is born of concentration and has ecstasy, bliss and inward happiness.

48. And reaching that trance in which the mind is stilled he experienced supreme unprecedented ecstasy, but, just as previously in the reflections, so now in that ecstasy he saw there were defects.

49. For by the law of opposites suffering is present in any matter in which the highest ecstasy is experienced by man; therefore seeing the defects ensuing at this stage from ecstasy, he entered on Yoga for its abolition.

the third trance,

50. Then experiencing with his body through freedom from ecstasy that bliss which the Saints feel, and fully aware of all things, he remained indifferent and attentive and gained the third trance.

51. Since the bliss reached at that point is the highest of all blisses, there is no continuance of bliss beyond it; therefore the Knower of the higher and lower stages called it the Śubhakṛtsna stage as being supreme through benevolence.

52. Then he saw a defect in that trance and deemed that the highest stage is tranquil and not subject to alteration; but his mind kept altering continuously through inflections because of the activity of bliss.

53. Seeing that where there is alteration there is motion and where there is motion there is suffering, ascetics who long for tranquillity give up that bliss because it brings about alteration.

and the fourth trance.

54. Then previously abandoning bliss and suffering and all alteration of mind he entered the fourth trance, which is pure and possesses the qualities of indifference and attentiveness and is devoid of bliss and suffering.

55. And since in it there is neither bliss nor suffering and knowledge there fulfils its aim, therefore in the process of the fourth trance there is explained to be purification through indifference and attentiveness.

56. Then relying on the fourth trance, he set his mind on attaining

48. For *cittamauna* see *AK*, III, 133, which gives the references.

50. For *upekṣā* in this trance see *AK*, V, 148-9, which explains all the terms and I, 159.

51. *Parāparajña* should refer to *indriyaparāparajñāna*, one of the ten powers of the Buddha (*AK*, V, 70), but here it seems to refer to knowledge of the various stages of existence.

52. LVP would read *sukhe 'pi* in *a* for *dhyāne 'pi*, which is possible but not necessary. I use his translation for *ābhoga*; cf. *AK*, I, 154, which uses almost the same terms as *Triṁśikā* (ed. S. Levi, 1925), p. 20, ll. 11-12. *Aniñja* = *avikāra*, as verse 54 shows.

55. i.e. *upekṣā* because *sukha* and *duḥkha* are absent and *smṛti* because the mind is still.

56. It is not perhaps absolutely necessary to amend *mitraṁ* in *c*; Renou, *Grammaire Sanscrite*, pp. 276 and 277, quotes its use as masculine from the *Tantrākhyāyikā* and *Avadānaśataka*.

Arhatship, like a king, wishing to conquer hitherto unconquered provinces, who unites himself with a strong noble ally.

57. Then he cut entirely through the five upper fetters, the hindrances of the supreme good, the final bonds, with the sword of intuitive wisdom which he wielded through meditation.

58. And with the seven elephants of the constituents of enlightenment he crushed the seven evil latent tendencies of the mind, as Time with the seven planets crushes the seven continents when the time of their destruction has arrived.

59. For Nanda applied to the faults, by extinguishing, uprooting, burning and drying up, the same action that clouds, wind, fire, and the sun exert on fire, trees, ghee and water respectively.

Nanda becomes an Arhat.

60. So with the eightfold boat he crossed over the ocean of suffering, so difficult to pass over, which has three currents, three fishes, three waves, one water, five streams, two banks and two crocodiles.

61. By reaching Arhatship he became worthy of reverence, bereft of yearning, making demands on none, untroubled by hope, fear or grief, without conceit or passion, and so though the same he seemed to be another by his steadfastness.

62. Then Nanda, who had become tranquil in mind and had fulfilled his task under the teaching of his Brother and Master and through his own courage, spoke thus to himself :—

His song of thanksgiving in praise of the Buddha.

63. 'Praise to the Blessed One through Whose benevolence and compassion so many sufferings have been turned away from me and such great bliss brought within my reach.

64. For I, who was full of wantonness and was being carried away by ignoble (desire) born of the body down the path whose nature is suffering, have been turned back from it by the goad of His words, like a *must* elephant by a goad.

65. For through the instruction of the compassionate Teacher Who

58. The simile is a mixture of Buddhist and Brahmanical cosmology. The seven planets are evidently the seven world-destroying suns, frequently described in Buddhist literature (*AK*, II, p. 184 n. 2). The seven continents, on the other hand, belong entirely to Brahmanism (Kirfel, *Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 57), being situated between the concentric seas, whereas in later Buddhism (e.g. *AK*, II, 141 ff.) Meru at the centre is surrounded by seven mountains with seas between, and there are only four *dvīpas* with sometimes eight *antaradvīpas*, all situated on the outer circumambient ocean. *Kāla* in *d* should perhaps be translated 'Death', not 'Time'. For the growth of the *anuśayas* to the number of seven see P.T.S. Pali dictionary s. *anusaya* ; later there seems to have been an attempt to reduce them to six (*AK*, IV, 2, kārikā v, 1–2, and also ib. p. 41, n. 3).

61. *Niṣpraṇaya* in *b* may also mean 'devoid of the passion of love'.

65. *Ājñā* may have the technical sense of 'supreme knowledge' here also as in the title to the next canto. I take *sarva* in *d* to have the same technical sense as in verse 18 above.

extracted the dart of passion from my heart, such supreme ecstasy to-day is mine, not to speak of my reaching the peace of Nirvāṇa in the annihilation of all phenomena.

66. For by extinguishing the blazing fire of the passions with the water of steadfastness as if I were extinguishing a fire with water, I have now come to the highest happiness, like a man descending into a cool pool in the hot weather.

67. No more is there anything agreeable or disagreeable to me; no more have I likings, still less dislikings. By their absence I am suddenly joyful, as if rid of the feelings of cold and heat.

68. Like one who has obtained safety after a great danger or deliverance from great oppression or light in a great darkness or, when without a boat, the further shore of the great ocean,

69. Or like one who has obtained good health after an unbearable illness or release from a debt of unimaginable amount or escape from the face of his adversaries or plenty after famine,

70. Even so by the magic power of the Teacher have I come to supreme tranquillity. Again and again I do repeated obeisance to the noble Tathāgata.

71. When I was given over to love and plunged in the sin of passion for young women, it was He Who took me to the golden-peaked mountain and to Paradise and rescued me by the example of the she-monkey and through the women who frequent heaven,

72. And dragged me up from out of that slough of calamity, the lowest of passions, like an exhausted elephant from a slough; now I am saved in the good Law, the ultimate beatitude, which is peaceful and free from passion, fret, grief and ignorance.

73. I bow the head to Him, the Supreme Seer, the Compassionate One, Who knows the natures, the qualities and the dispositions (of all beings), the Enlightened One, the Holder of the ten Powers, the Chief of physicians, the Saviour. Again I do Him obeisance.'

71. There is a slight metrical defect in *b*, as the last syllable should always be long in the *praharṣiṇī* metre.

73. *Prakṛtiguṇajña* is no doubt intended to hint also at Sāṁkhya ideas. Aśvaghoṣa does not refer elsewhere explicitly to the three *guṇas*.

CANTO XVIII

THE DECLARATION OF INSIGHT

Nanda visits the Buddha,

1. Then having reached his goal, like a young Brahman who has mastered the Vedas or a merchant who has quickly acquired gain or a Kṣatriya who has conquered a hostile army, Nanda sought out the Guru.

2. Pleasant is it for the guru to see the pupil or the pupil the guru at the time knowledge has been acquired, each thinking, 'Your toil has been fruitful through me'; so the Sage was desirous of seeing him too.

3. For when a religious man, though still full of passion, has attained any excellence through anyone else, he should render the latter the highest worship out of gratitude; how much more should the man do so whose conceit is abated and passion spent?

4. For devotion which originates in love or wealth exists with its roots growing from that source only, but when anyone's passionate devotion arises from following the Law, faith is implanted in his heart.

5. Then clothed in the earth-coloured robe and pale like gold, he bowed his head to the Guru, like a *karṇikāra* tree stirred by the wind with the shining glory of its flowers and its copper-coloured shoots.

6. Then, not out of pride but to demonstrate the relationship of master and pupil between the great Sage and himself, he related his success in attaining his object:—

and declares his success.

7. 'The very sharp splinter of false views, Lord, which was lodged in my heart and caused me grievous pain, has been pulled out by the jaws of the forceps of Thy voice, as a splinter is pulled out by a surgeon.

8. The doubt of mine, O Thou Who art free from doubt, which led me

For *vyākaraṇa* in the title cf. verse 21 below. *Ājñā* is the special knowledge of the man who has attained salvation.

1. LVP compares the parallel simile at *Divy.* 555. The point here is that Nanda is now a saint, a successful Ārya, and is thus compared with the typically successful member of each of the three upper, i.e. *ārya*, castes.

2. LVP considers four pādas to have dropped out between the two lines of this verse, but if my translation is correct this supposition is unnecessary.

3. *Iḍyām* is undoubtedly a corruption here for *ijyām*, which occurs occasionally in Buddhist works in the sense of *pūjā*; cf. *AK*, III, p. 138 n. 2, and *PW* which gives the meaning without reference.

5. The *karṇikāra*, *Pterospermum acerifolium*, has whitish flowers and red shoots, corresponding to Nanda's complexion and the colour of his robe. The comparison suggests that F. O. Schrader (*Nachlese zu Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita*, Journal of the Taisho University, 1930) is right in taking *drumābja* at *B.* v, 3 to mean *karṇikāra*, though I reserve my opinion on his interpretation of the verse.

to vain questionings, has been destroyed; under Thy instruction I have reached the good Path, as a man who has lost his road is put on the right one by the directions of a good guide.

9. The poison of love, which I had drunk in the wantonness due to my senses being in thraldom to gratification, has been driven out by the antidote of Thy words, as a deadly poison is driven out by a great remedy.

10. O Conqueror of birth, birth for me is destroyed; I dwell rightly in the practice of the good Law. O Accomplisher of the task, I have done all that is required; I exist in the world and yet am free from its elements.

11. Most Excellent One, I have drunk like a calf from the cow of Thy speech, with the teats of benevolence, the beautiful dewlap of clear expression, the milk of the good Law and the horn of imagination, and I have all my desires appeased, just as the calf's thirst is quenched.

12. O Sage, hear from me briefly what I perceived in order to enter into this possession; for though Thou art omniscient and already knowest it, I wish to tell Thee the manner of my cure.

13. For other holy men desirous of Salvation, hearing how another has come to Salvation, strive blissfully by the same path, as sick men strive for health by the treatment that has already cured another of disease.

He explains his disjunction from all mundane phenomena.

14. I know that the elements, earth and the rest, are present in birth and that there is no self at all in them. Therefore I have no feeling of attachment to them and my mind makes no distinction between that which is my body and that which is outside it.

15. I have dissociated myself from the five unholy *skandhas*, matter etc., since I see them to be transitory, unsubstantial, unindividual and injurious.

16. And since I perceive the rise and disappearance in all states of the organs of sense, therefore I am not attached to them too, as they are impermanent, without personality and full of suffering.

11. *Pratibhāṇa*, 'imagination' in a good sense, that quality of the brain by which the right ideas, the right subjects for enquiry etc., occur to anyone by flashes of insight and not by conscious reasoning; thus it developed later into something almost equivalent to our 'genius'. I take *vatsavarṇa* in *d* to be the same as Bāṇa's *vatsarūpa* or °*rūpaka*, *HC*, ch. vii, p. 68 l. 3 and p. 69 l. 16 (cf. *Pāṇ*. 5. 3, 66). In Pali *vaṇṇa* is frequently used for *rūpa* in the sense of 'form', 'appearance'. I construe *uttama* separately as a vocative.

14. Pāda *d* as it stands seems to me unintelligible and I read *kāye ca* for *kāyena*, as *sama* governs the locative, so as to correspond to the *ajjhattika* and *bāhira* of *Majjhima* III, 240 ff. The reference is to a sūtra frequently quoted by all schools of Buddhist thought, see *AK*, I, p. 49 n. 2 (see also ib. p. 66 and *AKV* i on both passages) and *MK*, p. 129 l. 3.

He explains his disjunction from all mundane phenomena (*contd.*).

17. And since I see that the world's beginning and end are simultaneous and that all phenomena are without substance or reality of existence, therefore my mind is unyoked from thoughts so that no change in it is caused by belief in my real existence as an individual.

18. Since I am not attached to the four kinds of nutriment with its manifold attachments and am not deluded by it or bound to it, therefore I am liberated from the three spheres of existence.

19. Since I am not dependent on nor bound in mind to seeing, hearing etc., in the ordinary affairs of life and since I use them with my mind in equipoise, therefore I am disjoined from them and emancipated.'

20. With these words he prostrated himself with his entire body on the ground out of respect for the Guru, appearing like a mighty fallen column of gold smeared with red sandalwood.

21. Then the Seer, listening to his declaration and hearing of the steadfastness of him who had previously emerged from heedlessness and of his faith in following the Law, spoke to him with a voice like a thundercloud :—

The Buddha's eulogy of Nanda.

22. 'Rise up, for you stand in the Law beloved of My followers. Do not lay your head at My feet; you do not do Me so much reverence by obeisance as by this acceptance of the Law.

23. To-day by conquest of yourself your abandonment of home life is successful, since you have obtained mastery over yourself. For it is fruitful for him who has conquered himself to take up the wandering life, but not for him whose senses are unsubdued and self unstable.

24. To-day you have reached the highest purity in that your voice, body and thoughts are pure, and in that henceforward, my friend, you will not experience again the impure and unholy abode of the womb.

25. To-day you have learnt that which is of good purport and full of learning and have followed the Law according to the learning. For he who is perfected in learning and acts contrary to it is worthy of blame, like a man who, having girded on his armour, shows cowardice.

26. I applaud your firmness in that, free from bondage to the objects of the senses, you set your mind on the means of salvation; for it is only the fool who feels terror in this world at the destruction of rebirth, thinking it means total extinction for him.

17. I take *samajanmaniṣṭha* to be a reference to the *kṣaṇika* theory, and *sarvam* as in xvii, 18; but it would do equally well to take *sarvam* as agreeing with *jagat*, making *a* and *b* into one sentence. LVP suggests *asattvavantam* as a possibility in *b*. I am still unable to solve the reading of *c*, possibly *dhiyo me manaso niruddhā*.

18. The four kinds of *āhāra* are *kavaḍīkāra*, *sparśa*, *manosaṁcetanā* and *vijñāna*. Cf. *AK*, II, p. 119 n. 2, and *MK*, p. 40 n. 3.

27. By good fortune this contact with the right moment, so difficult to obtain, has not been made fruitless through delusion ; for when a man has gone below, he comes up again with difficulty, like the turtle in the ocean rising up so as to meet the hole in the yoke.

28. To-day you are the hero who leads the van in battle, having conquered Māra, whom it is so hard to meet in combat; for even a hero is not considered to be such if he is overwhelmed by the faults as by foes.

29. By good fortune you have extinguished to-day the raging fire of passion, and, free from its fever, you will lie down in comfort; for the man whose mind is alight with the fire of the vices finds suffering even on the lordliest couch.

30. Formerly exalted by the pride of wealth, you are rich to-day by the cessation of desire; for as long as a man in the world cherishes desire, so long is he always poor, however wealthy he be.

31. To-day you may fittingly proclaim that King Śuddhodana is your father; for it is not praiseworthy for a man, who has abandoned the golden rule observed by his ancestors, to proclaim his lineage.

32. By good fortune you have reached the supreme tranquillity, like a man who has crossed the desert and obtained wealth ; for everyone caught in the cycle of existence is harassed by the fear of danger, like a traveller in the desert.

33. I had before been desirous of seeing you, thinking to Myself, "When shall I see Nanda living the forest life, subsisting on alms, following the Rule and self-controlled ?" Thus you are a blessed sight to Me.

34. For even an ugly man is beautiful to the sight when he is well adorned with his own pre-eminent virtues, but the man who is covered by the filth of the vices, however beautiful to the eyes he be, is in reality ugly.

35. To-day your intelligence is admirable since by it you have done all that there was for you to do; for however eminent a man may be in learning, he has not intelligence if it is not developed in the sphere of the highest good.

36. Similarly a man's eyes may be closed and yet he alone have sight among people, though their eyes are open ; for though a man have eyes, yet he has not sight, unless he have the eye of intuitive wisdom.

27. Pali versions of the simile are to be found at *Majjhima* III, 169, and *Saṁyutta* V, 455. *Adhastāt* refers to the *durgatis*, the hells, the Pretas and animals.

28. Again the play on *raṇa* ; see xiii, 38.

31. The *PW* records the use of *pā* with *ni* only from the *RV* ; cf. *B.* ii, 54.

37. Mankind toils in wretchedness at agriculture and other work to find a remedy for suffering, and yet suffering, to which you have put an end to-day by knowledge, returns to them again without intermission.

38. For mankind is ever working to avoid suffering and obtain happiness, nor do they understand how the happiness, so hard to reach, of which you have come into possession to-day, may duly come about.'

39. Nanda, when addressed in this way by the Tathāgata for his good, kept his mind and thoughts fixed and was indifferent to praise and blame; and he spoke thus with folded hands:—

Nanda's reply.

40. 'Ah! Especially hast Thou, Lord, Who knowest the special characteristics, shown this compassion to me, that I who was sinking in the slough of love have been rescued from the dangers of the cycle of existence and am free of the feeling of love.

41. If Thou, my Brother, my Guide to the highest good, my Father who art stationed in fruition, my Mother, hadst not delivered me, I should have been overwhelmed, failing to reach my goal, like a traveller who has lost his caravan.

42. For discrimination is easy to the man of investigating mind who knows reality and is tranquil and contented; and freedom from passion is easy to the man who has abandoned pride and conceit and whose intelligence is devoid of attachment.

43. For through the right understanding of reality, through shaking off the faults and through obtaining possession of tranquillity, I have now no longings with respect to my body, my wife, the Apsarases or the gods.

44. For now that I enjoy this pure happiness of tranquillity, my mind no longer hankers after the happiness that arises from love, just as the mind of the dweller in heaven who has fed on nectar does not hanker after the costliest even of earthly foods that is not eaten by the gods.

45. Alas! The world with its eyes closed by the blindness of its perceptions does not see that supreme happiness lies in a change of robe; for casting away the lasting happiness of interior peace it undergoes toil for the sake of the pleasures of love.

38. The translation of the second line is uncertain; it would for instance be possible to construe *d* as a separate sentence from *c*, i.e. 'nor do they understand how that (happiness) may come about; to-day you have properly obtained that which is so hard to reach'. *Tathā* followed by *yathā* is used at *B.* iv, 22, by Aśvaghoṣa to mean so to do a thing that a certain result does or will ensue and I take it so here.

43. Though I translate the text, I think that it is not perhaps absolutely necessary to amend *nāśramam* and that *āśrama* might be taken in the sense of 'home', unusual though it is.

44. *Sudhā* is the food of the gods in the highest stages of the *kāmadhātu* sphere. *Adaivatāhṛtam* might also mean 'that is not offered to the gods'.

46. For the man, who would reject the most excellent bliss of enlightenment and undergo toil in order to experience sensory pleasure, is like the fool, who, proceeding to a jewel-mine, should pass by the jewels and take away worthless semi-precious stones.

47. For wonderful indeed is the favour shown to all beings by the Tathāgata in the exceeding benevolence of His mind that, throwing aside the supreme bliss of trance, the Sage should labour to put an end to the sufferings of others.

He asks how he can show his gratitude.

48. What can I do in return now to-day for Thee, my compassionate Guru, Who hast been so kindly disposed to me and by Whom I have been rescued from the ocean of being, like a man, whose ship has been broken by the waves, from the great ocean?'

49. Then the Sage, the Best of Speakers, hearing his well-reasoned speech which showed that he had extirpated all the infections, spoke these words which were such as a Buddha Śrīghana should speak:—

and is directed to help others.

50. 'It is right for you, O wise one, to say this, seeing that you have attained your goal, know the highest truth and are a saint, just as a great merchant who has crossed the desert and made great gains may praise the deeds of his excellent guide.

51. Not even a man who has seen the truth would understand the Buddha, the Charioteer Whose steeds are men, in the same way as the saintly Arhat does whose mind is tranquillised; how much less then will a man outside the pale of the Law do so, intelligent though he be?

52. And this gratitude is fitting in you, whose mind is freed from passion and ignorance; for, O grateful one, gratitude is hard to find in this world conditioned by excess of passion.

53. You possess the Law and since in accordance with the Law you have obtained faith in Me and skill in attainment, I have more to say to you; for, being humble and devoted, you are worthy of receiving a command.

54. By following the highest Path you have reached the goal and

46. Is this verse an interpolation? The first line is an inferior version of xv. 27, and the last pāda practically repeats 45 *d*.

47. I translate *muniḥ* in *c* and *bhidyate* in *d* on the strength of *Tathāgatasya* in *b*, but do not consider it a certain amendment but only an improvement.

49. Śrīghana is a very rare appellation for the Buddha, see *Mhv.* III, p. 62, l. 4, and *Dīpavaṁsa* i, 11. It does not occur in F. Weller's *Tausend Buddhanamen* (Leipzig, 1928).

51. *Dṛṣṭasatya* here might mean 'who has seen the four Truths', a stage in the path to enlightenment.

52. For *rajas* see note on iii, 39. *Avasthite* is curious, and the meaning I give it apparently without parallel, unless it be in x, 56 above. But the alternative of reading *rajaḥprakarṣe na* and taking *na . . . avasthite* as equivalent to *anavasthite* seems even more difficult.

54. I infer from *api* in *d* that *parān* means 'enemies' here, not 'others'.

Nanda is directed to help others (*contd.*).

there is not the slightest thing further for you to do; henceforward, my, friend, practise compassion, bringing liberation to those in difficulties even when they are your enemies.

55. The lowest class of man undertakes action for this world only, the next class both for this world and the world above, the middle man for results in the hereafter only, and the man of superior character for freedom from rebirth.

56. But he is deemed best among the best in this world who, after obtaining the supreme ultimate Element, desires, careless of the trouble it involves for him, to teach this tranquillity to others also.

57. Therefore abandoning all concern with your own affairs in this world, work with steadfast soul for others and hold up this torch of revelation for the beings who with souls clouded with mental darkness are wandering in the night.

58. Just let the inhabitants of the town be astonished while you preach the Law and let them say, "Look, this is a miracle that he who was addicted to passion now tells the tale of final emancipation!"

Prophecy about Sundarī.

59. For certainly when your wife hears that your mind has become steadfast with its desires turned away from the various objects of the senses, she too will imitate you in the palace and will preach among the women of freedom from passion.

60. For certainly since you are filled with supreme steadfastness and have entered into reality, she will find no pleasure in the palace, just as the intelligence of the enlightened man, whose mind is discriminating and characterised by tranquillity and self-restraint, finds none in the pleasures of love.'

61. Then Nanda grasped with his head the words and the feet simultaneously of the worshipful, supremely compassionate Master, and cheerful with heart at rest and his aims accomplished, he left the Sage, being freed from conceit like an elephant from *must*.

Nanda preaches in Kapilavāstu.

62. Indifferent to gain or loss, to pleasure or suffering etc., free from yearnings and with senses stilled, he entered the city to ask for alms at the due time and attracted the gaze of the folk; and there in due course he told the tale of Salvation to the folk who had need of it, neither contemning others still wandering far from the true Path nor exalting himself.

Intention of the poem.

63. This poem, dealing thus with the subject of Salvation, has been

55. For this and the next verse cf. the stanza quoted *AK*, II, 192, and attempted restoration, ib. n. 2.

58. As G doubted *idam* in the second line, it is perhaps worth pointing out that the exact construction recurs *Śiśupālavadha* xi, 31, *HC*, ch. vii, second verse, and *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha*, xii, 72.

written in the Kāvya style, not to give pleasure, but to further the attainment of tranquillity and with the intention of capturing hearers devoted to other things. For, that I have handled other subjects in it besides Salvation is in accordance with the laws of Kāvya poetry to make it palatable, as sweet is put into a bitter medicine to make it drinkable.

64. Since I saw mankind mainly given over to the pleasures of the objects of the senses and averse from Salvation, I have here told of the final truth under the guise of a Kāvya, considering Salvation to be supreme. Let the reader understand this and study attentively in it that which leads to tranquillity and not that which is merely pleasurable, as only the residue of gold is taken after it has been separated from the metal dust.

This poem was written by the great eloquent poet, the mendicant and teacher, his reverence Aśvaghoṣa, the noble son of Suvarṇākṣī, of Sāketa.

APPENDIX

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO THE SANSKRIT TEXT

THIS appendix contains (1) corrections of misprints in the text not already corrected there, (2) certain variants omitted by mistake from the text, (3) those further amendments which I would now definitely make in the text, (4) corrections in and additions to the index of the text.

CANTO I. 3 a. Read *havīṁṣi* for *haviḥṣu*.
10 b. Under variants omit C.c. (L has the correct reading.)
55 a. Add in variants, °*vairdāśriyaiḥ* P.
61 c. Read *priyaguravas*.

CANTO II. 1 c. Read *Śuddhodano*.
6 d. Read *vṛttenā*°.
24 c. Add in variants, *ādarśasnigdhayā* P.
45 c. Read *aśakyaḥ śakya*° and add in variants *aśakyaśakya*° P.
59 b. Add in variants, *ivodita* P.
65 b. Read °*varāṅganāsv* and add in variants, °*varāṅganād* LP, LVP c.

CANTO III. 14 d. In variants for 4 d read d.
18 b. Add in variants, *niyatimatir* PC.
27 b. Read °*siddhaye* and add in variants, °*siddhayoḥ* P, LVP and Gawroński c.
30 d. Read *upāsakaḥ* in d and add in variants, *upāsayā* LP.
42 b. Add in variants, °*pūrupupuro*° P.

CANTO IV. 6 b. Read *nāndī*°.
8 b. Read °*nandyor*.
26 a. Read *pipeṣānuvilepanaṁ*, and in variants delete H.c. and add °*ṣāṅgavilepa*° H.
33 c. Read *cāśrupluta*°.
37 c. Read *caṇḍe*.

CANTO V. 34 ab. Read in variants, *tamujjihīrṣama*° P.
44 d. Read *yadā* for *yadi* and add in variants, *yadi* P, **di* L.
51 b. Read in variants, *sakliśliṣyaviveṣṭa*° P.

CANTO VI. 7 c. Read *prītyāṁ* and add in variants, *prītyā* LP.
10 c. Add in variants, *vaktum* L.
12 ab. Add in variants, *tattadṛṣṭā*° P.
21 a. Add in variants, °*darśaṇopi* P.
31 c. In variants for *rukṣmāṅga*° LP, read *rukṣmāṅga*° L, *rukṣmāṅgaprāde* P.
33 b. Read °*darī guheva* for °*darīguheva*.

CANTO VII. 8 cd. Read *kadaivaṁ śliṣṭā bhaven* and substitute in variants under c, *tadaivaṁ* P, G.c.

9 a. Read *puspaiḥ karālā.*

37 d. Read *hriyaṁ na roṣe na tapo* and for variants substitute, cd, *sarvvāntriyaṁnaroseṇa* LP, *sarpān svīkaṁ* H, *sarpān dṛḍhaṁ* S, *sarpāṅ priyaṁ* GJ; LVP c.

45 a. Add in variants, *saptaścapāṇḍummadanena* P.

46 d. Add in variants, *apasya*(m.)*t* P.

CANTO VIII. 27 a. Add in variants, *prathitasyatasyadhīmataḥ* P.

27 d. Add in variants, *praṅativāyu*° P.

42 b. Read *sauhṛdam.*

49 b. Add in variants, *aśubha* P.

52 b. Read *saghṛṇo.*

CANTO IX. 5 d. Read *yathāvabudhye* and add in variants, *yathāvavuddho* P, G.c.

8 b. Read *upanīyate* and delete variant.

12 a. Add in variants, °*bhūcāyva*° P.

24 d. Read *śāmbasya* and add in variants, *sāmyasya ca* L.

26 d. Correct variant to read, *vapūrvvapu*° P.

42 d. Read *sasyalālasā* and add in variants, *śasya*° P.

44 b. Read *pratāpayan* and delete in variants, *pratāpayannaiva* LC.

CANTO X. 12 b. Read *mayūrapitto*° and delete variant.

15 a. Read *alasāyamānāṁ* and add in variants, *apasāryamāṇāṁ* C.

43 c. Add in variants, *munijighāṁsu*° P.

CANTO XI. 8 c. Add in variants, °*vravīnandam* P.

24 d. Add in variants, *vodumudyataḥ* P.

60 a. Read *vaddhanād* L in variants for *vaddhanāda* L.

CANTO XIII. 18 d. Read *pareṣv āyatta*° and add in variants, *pareṣṭāyatta*° P.

22 c. Read *vairāgyasyāpi.*

26 a. Read *avilekhasya* and for variant substitute, *ahṛllekhasya* J.

43 cd. Add in variants, *dantādīnanānu*° P.

CANTO XIV. P. 97. At bottom of page for 'L has . . . d 4–16 d 8', read 'L has . . . d 4–9 a 2 p, a 3–16 d 8'.

45 b. In variants read, *cetiṣṭhataḥ* P.

CANTO XV. 8 d. Read *vadhyā* for *barhyā.*

45 c. Read *lokaṁ* and add in variants, *loke* LP.

50 d. Read *kṛthāḥ.*

CANTO XVI. 7 b. Read *duḥkham avehi* and for variant substitute, *duḥkhamavaihi* L, *dūkhamavaihi* P.

7 c. Add in variants, *sarvvoṣadhīnām* P.

14 a. Read in variants, °*mālokye* P.

33 a. Read *satyābhigamāya* and in variants substitute, *satyadhigamāya* G.

42 a. Add in variants, *dukṣhaṁ* P.

81 a. Read °*prabhṛtīni* and add in variants, G.c.

87 b. Read *tiṣyopasenau.*

87 c. Read *vāṣpo*°.

89 ab. Read °*nandamāte Upāli*° and add in variants, °*nandamātāvupāli*° LP.

93 d. Read °*siddhyā* and add in variants, °*siddhyai* LP.

CANTO XVII. 15 c. Read *niḥsaraṇātmakaś* and add in variants, *niḥsaraṇātmataś* LP, G.c.

24 d. Read *kleśacamūṁ.*

47 ab. Read in variants, °*cāramaikagra*° L.

CANTO XVIII. 3 b. For *iḍyām* read *ijyām.*

11 d. Divide *uttama vatsavarṇaḥ.*

14 d. Read *kāye ca* and add in variants, *kāyena* LPC.

31 b. Read *Śuddhodano.*

INDEX

Delete the entries under aka, iḍyā, puṭa, Māsīṣa, Vupālin.

Make the following corrections :

adhigama, add XVI. 85 ; XVII. 13 ; XVIII. 12.

anuśaya, for XIV. 5 read XV. 5.

ahṛllekha, delete reference to XIII. 26.

ājīva, omit (pṛthak).

āśraya, correct entry to, (quiver ?), I. 54 ; (body), XVI. 21 ; XVIII. 43 ; sattva +, VI. 45.

āsrava, for XVI. 35 read XVI. 3, 5.

iñjita, for XI. 22 read XVII. 53.

īśvara, delete reference to XVII. 21.

kāma, delete reference to XVII. 37.

kuśala, add at end of entry, (karman), III. 37.

jyotiṣa, for XII. 14 read XIII. 14.

dhātu, add at end of entry, (of ārambha &c.), XIV. 22.

Dhautakin, read Dhautaki instead.

Dhautodhana, read Dhautodana instead.

nandī, add reference to IV. 8.

nāndī, delete reference to IV. 8.

nirodha, add references to XVI. 39, 41, 42.

yānīya, for XII. 2 read VII. 2.

yoga, add references to XVI. 92, XVII. 10, 37, 41.

rajas, add references to III. 39 ; XII. 28.

vinaya, add reference to VIII. 57.

Śākyarāja, read Śuddhodana.

Śuddhodhana, read Śuddhodana instead.

Sujātavatsā, read Sujāta instead.

Add the following new entries in their proper places:

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